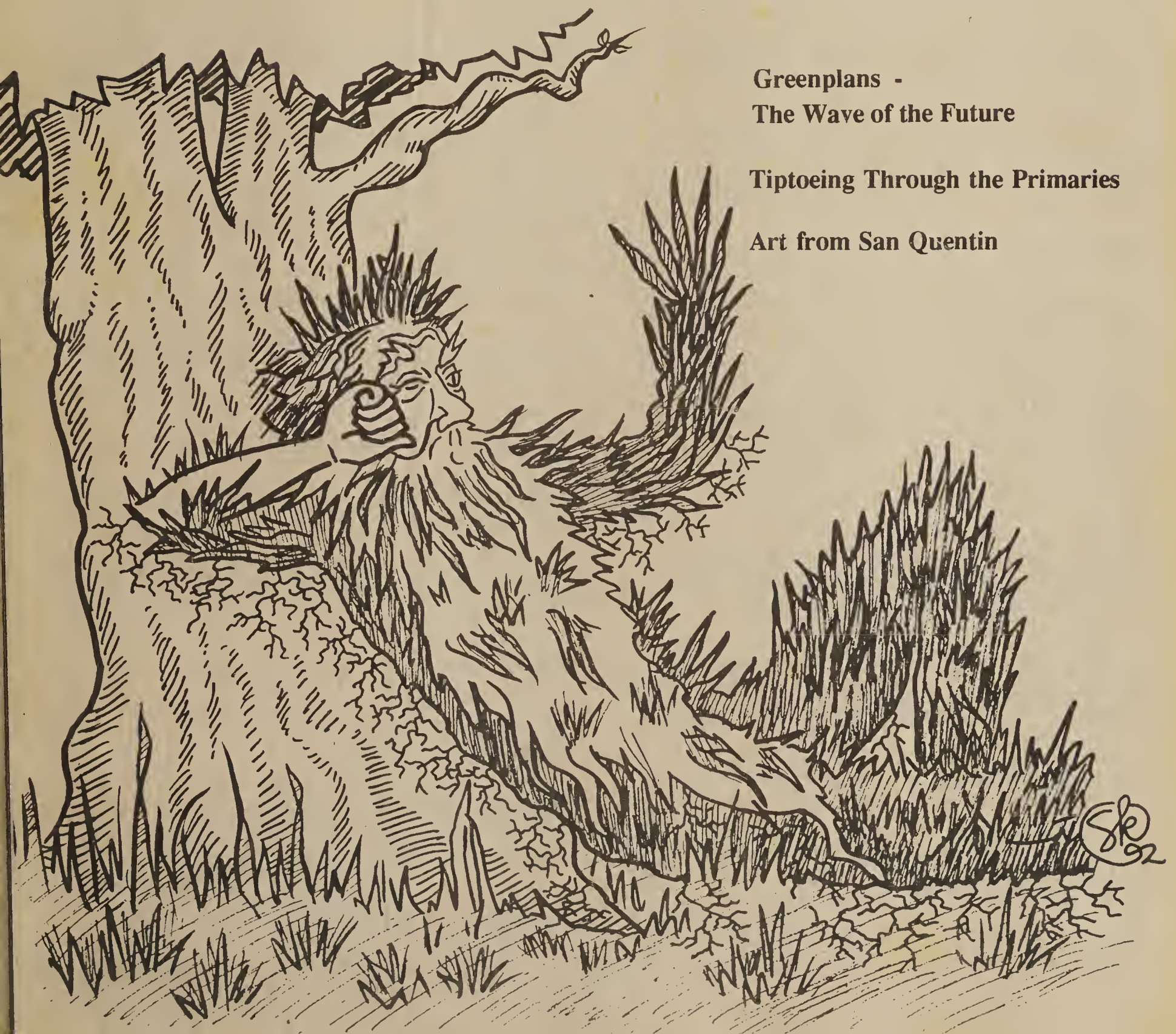
Options

magazine

Spring 1992

The Grassroots Arrise



Greenplans -
The Wave of the Future

Tiptoeing Through the Primaries

Art from San Quentin

Options magazine

Spring 1992

Staff

Volunteer Driver...Wendi Kallins

Chief Sidekick...Mitra

Construction Engineer...Lew Tremaine

Arm Twister...Evann Walker

English Teachers...Jill Kramer, Amity Hotchkiss, , Carrie Wheaton, Robert Hunt

Perfectionist...Angela deCelle

Starving Artists...Sheila McNeil, Penny Yrigoyen, Allan Smorra

Starving Writers...Lisa Alpine, Amity Hotchkiss, Mitra, Wendi Kallins, Tom Lollini, Peter Livingston, Don Carney, Jill Kramer

Cover Art by Sheila McNeil

Many thanks to these talented artists and writers who generously donated their work to this issue of Options Magazine.

Options Magazine is published quarterly by an all volunteer staff at 85 Bolinas Rd. #17A, Fairfax, CA 94930; Phone 485-5329. *Entire contents of this issue copyright May 1991, Options Magazine. All rights reserved.*

We've Moved. Please note our new address: 85 Bolinas Rd. #17a, Fairfax, CA 94930. Phone is the same: 485-5329.

Table of Contents

Snapshots 4

Opinion 6

Green Plans, The Wave of the Future...
by Mitra 7

Pro-War Candidate Unacceptable...
by Don Carney 10

Cultivating the Weeds of the Grassroots...
by Wendi Kallins 12

Tiptoeing Through the Primaries...*by Mitra* 16

San Rafael Council Swears off Slimeball Politics...
by Jill Kramer 22

Bay Birds Win a Reprieve...*by Jill Kramer* 23

Toughest Battle Ahead for Gates Houseboaters...
by Amity Hotchkiss 25

Can Marin Build Itself Back into Balance...
by Tom Lollini 27

Going Native to Save the Rainforests...
by Lisa Alpine 30

Marketplace Exchange 34

Resource Directory 39

Gallery - *Behind the Bars at San Quentin* 44

Poetry...*by Peter Livingston* 46

In the heat of the summer
when the pavements were burning
soul of a city was ravaged in the night
after the city sun was sinking

now no one knows how it started
why the windows were shattered
but deep in the dark, someone set the spark
and then it no longer mattered

round the street they were rumblin'
while the tempers were ragin'
where oh where were the white silver tongues
who forgot to listen to the warning

on and on came the angry
no longer following reason
and all the stores were the target now
where just the other day they were buying

drunk with the memory of the ghetto
drunk with the lure of the looting
and the memory of the uniform shoving with their sticks
asking are you looking for trouble

and when the fury was over
and the shame was replacing the anger
so wrong, so wrong but we've been down too long
and we had to make somebody listen.

Phil Ochs, 1965

May Day, 1992

This tune from Phil Ochs is wafting over the airwaves of KPFA as we go to press. I am watching images on the news of minority youths gleefully rampaging the streets, stuffing consumer goods into their cars. I see the fires billowing smoke into the night air. And I know that it is my rage that is down there erupting out of these young people. I, too, felt the sickness rise in me, as twelve jurors affirmed that they were willing to go to any lengths to protect the rich from the poor, the haves from the have-nots, even if it means living in a police state.

Why do these roving gangs destroy their own neighborhoods, we ask? What possible good could that do them? That's the trouble with Americans. They keep thinking rationally and forget the passions that rule us deep inside. Author Isabel Allende once told me in an interview that Americans don't understand that politics is determined by passion, not reason. These people are looting stores because it's there and it's free, as one young Latino man told a reporter. This is their chance, for one night, to grab a piece of the American dream that has been denied them for so long.

If we do not like what we see, then we had better take a good long look inside of ourselves and inside of the corrupt system that governs this country. Because that is our shadow on those streets, our anger, our neglect and our denial.

Who knows what will be happening by the time this essay is read? We are once again going to press during a time when things are changing on a daily basis. Some are calling this the beginning of the revolution, others are shuddering that this is the strengthening of the fascist state. Many, many others are saying it is time to organize and to fight back. It is time to join together with all the oppressed minorities of this country - who together form the vast majority - and reclaim our heritage.

If people think this is only a racial division they had better look closer. Note two juxtaposing articles in this issue of Options are both about life on the waterfront; both about people's needs being pitted against the environment. Only one case is of a wealthy enclave wanting recreational access, and the other is of an established low income community wanting a place to live. Guess which group gets the royal treatment and which gets the shaft?

When a system is so blatantly out of balance it can and must fall. The grassroots is on the rise. How do we organize this tangled web? There is no greater question to ponder today. The youth of this country will continue to ravage and destroy our cities and our communities until we offer them something to build.

Here at Options we try to provide positive alternatives. That's not always easy when viewing the world from the vantage point of the daily news. Still, we need to keep our hopes alive. Options helped bring Jim Hightower to town and he inspired a packed crowd at the College of Marin. "You guys are not unique," he told us. "What is happening here in Marin is happening all over this country." It's refreshing to know that in every city, in every town, there are people like us, who care enough to stay informed and to get involved. It helps to know that we are not alone.

Don't forget that Options survives by your support. Please subscribe (only $10 a year) and also give us feedback. We are here to serve you and your needs. If you can help out by volunteering some time we could use help in proofreading, copy-editing, phone work, distribution and circulation. Tell your friends about us. Our best advertising comes through your words. And thanks for supporting us.

Deadline for the summer issue is July 15.

SNAPSHOTS

by Mitra

Greenwashing

You may have noticed a proliferation of companies attempting to appear environmentally friendly in their promotions, while conducting business as usual. I would like to start exposing this fraud through a new feature called Greenwashers. Please send me your own suggestions for Greenwashers, including the appropriate number or contact name so readers can call to complain.

This issue's Greenwashing award goes to all those companies that are stamping their bills "Recyclable" rather than "Recycled" in the hopes that you won't notice the difference. Utility bills are the most common examples and below I've listed a few examples.

Sprint - (800)877-4646 Their bills and envelopes are marked Recyclable,

PG&E - 456-8020 Their envelope is marked Recycled, but their bill (the bulk of the paper) is not.

Congratulations, for once to MMWD whose bills are on recycled paper and to Shoreline Disposal whose envelope can be resealed to send the money back.

Green Party

With over 3000 of Marin's voters registered Green, the Green Party has started four local groups across Marin.

One group is forming to consider what Marin could do to reduce the emissions of gases that deplete the ozone layer. Contact Bill Hard at 457-0211.

The focus of a second group is to get progressives into commissions and local offices - initially in the Fairfax/San Anselmo area, contact Roy Christman at 459-5556.

An economics working group wants to educate the Greens about the economic system and look at alternatives on a local level. Particular interests include the LETSystem community currency, local bank lending practices, and Community Supported Agriculture. The next meeting is on Sunday 26. Contact Fred Lancaster at 331-5647.

For local group information and other event info contact 45-EARTH

Southern Marin: Eleanor Mahood 389-8363
Fairfax/San-Anselmo: Roy 459-5556
Novato: Tom Chesus 454-1122
San Rafael: Scott Mauvais 456-5505

Forests Forever update

Yet another Forestry initiative has bitten the dust. The Forests Forever Initiative was withdrawn on March 21 after gaining only a fraction of the votes needed to qualify.

It's hard to know where to lay the blame this time. At least part belongs to Hal Arbit, the millionaire financier of the original Forests Forever. Once again Arbit tried to qualify an initiative and then (in an amazing case of what many consider voter-fraud) withdrew it in favor of some back-room deals he was trying to put together in Sacramento. Many voters must have thought they had already signed the initiative, when in reality their signature had been consigned to the trash by Arbit.

Another portion of the blame lies with the Sierra Club. Despite the endorsement of eight of the club's fourteen local chapters on March 7, the State Executive Committee voted unanimously against endorsing.

Finally, Forests Forever needs to look at its own organizational skills. After criticizing mainstream environmental groups last time for failing to mobilize grassroots activists, it singularly failed to do so itself. Maybe it is also time for Forests Forever to realize that a compromise with some of the more mainstream groups is needed in order to bring in the resources for a successful campaign.

Misleading Initiatives

If you are a subscriber, you will probably see this issue while the statewide initiatives aiming for the November ballot are still on the streets. As usual there are a couple that promise wine while delivering vinegar. Two initiatives to beware of:

The Parental Choice Initiative

This claims to provide choice in education, but only to those few rich individuals who can pitch in another $2500 or so to match the $2500 the state will give you as a tax refund if you move your child to a private school. When you see an initiative promising a tax refund, you must realize that it won't help those too poor to pay taxes in the first place. Our schools need a change in their financing, but this is not it. Furthermore, it will drain public money away from the public system at a time when every school in the state is starved for funds. Every education organization in the state is against this initiative.

SNAPSHOTS

The California Medical Association Initiative

This initiative is called the "minimal health care" initiative by the petitioners, because that is precisely what it will provide. It begins with "Requires employers to..." which tells us that it won't cover the unemployed. It uses terms such as "Cost Containment Panel" referring to a panel given no authority to control costs. Health Access, Consumers Union, Consumer Reports and the American Association of Retired Persons have all come out against this legislation because even its limited promises are illusionary.

A60 Initiative

Marin Watch, the group originally formed to fight the Buck Center, is trying to put an initiative on the ballot to protect Marin's open space. The initiative, tentatively titled "Marin Agriculture Preservation Initiative" (the final title will be chosen by the County Attorney) requires public approval before any change may be made in the zoning status of A-60 lands and lands in a bayfront conservation area. Major bayfront properties affected include the St. Vincents/Silveira properties and the flood plain zones at Bel Marin Keys.

Currently a majority of the supervisors can throw out any A-60 zoning designation. The initiative moves that choice to a vote of the people.

According to Marin Watch, this would complement the work of MALT in its goal to preserve agricultural land, while incorporating many of the goals of the Marin Conservation League's "Community Marin" plan.

Signature collection is now ongoing. 12,000 valid signatures are needed by May 30. If you can help it meet this very tight deadline, contact 454-4107.

To Jail or Not to Jail

Marin voters have, on two occasions, rejected proposals for a new jail on the Civic Center site. Despite this, the supervisors (with the exception, as usual, of Brady Bevis) seem determined to begin construction on a new jail. A new initiative is circulating which would stop any construction at the landmark civic center without a public vote. It does not stop building a jail on another site, nor building on the civic center site provided the supervisors get voter approval. The initiative's deadline is May 20 so if you can help contact: Preserve Our Civic Center, 892-0919 or 456-7910.

Appeal to send information

If we haven't covered your organization in here recently, it is probably because we haven't heard from you. Please send your press releases, and anything else you'd like to see us publicize to: Mitra, Snapshots Editor, Options magazine, P.O. Box 580, Forest Knolls CA 94933

LADY LIBERTY
NEILL
I'VE GOT MY RIGHTS!
DO YOU KNOW YOUR RIGHTS?
I KNOW I USED TO KNOW...
MY LATE HUSBAND KNEW THEM...
LIKE... I DON'T, LIKE, THINK ABOUT IT MUCH, LIKE,...
SOME OF THEM, I GUESS...
TOO BUSY TRYING TO SURVIVE!
I INTEND TO SOON.
KNOW YOUR RIGHTS!
...OR YOU'LL HAVE NO RIGHTS!
92 NEILL

Opinion

Dear Options Staff:

I picked up an issue, the Winter '92 issue of Options at the Mill Valley Library.

Bravo! I felt that I was reading a magazine that finally gave true options, where one could actually take true action to act locally and think globally.

Too many magazines and newsletters focus only on the problem, therefore leaving one overwhelmed and feeling powerless. Even if it means giving an address where one could send a letter of protest or boycott, or where one can find like-minded souls on a particular issue, if one has an option to action that is accessible - we can feel empowered.

I like Snapshots for this very reason!

I particularly enjoyed "An Interview with Spirit Rock Teacher Jack Kornfield," - featuring local organizations and individuals that are creating change.

I like your "end paper" on the Mideast Question. To quote Gandhi: "To benefit by others' killing and delude oneself into the belief that one is being very religious and nonviolent is sheer self-deception."

"In this age of democracy it's essential that desired results are achieved by the collective effort of the people. It will no doubt be good to achieve an objective through the effort of a supremely powerful individual, but it can never make the community conscious of its own corporate strength."

Both quotes are from Mohandas K. Gandhi's *Non Violence in Peace and War* and also found in Thomas Merton's *Gandhi on Non-Violence*, New Directions Publishing Corp.

I usually do not pick up a pen and write to a publication on how I felt about its contents. I was so moved to see the fresh vision that Options magazine brings from a local perspective.

Best regards,

Mary Rose Kaczorowski

Options:

As a resident of the Canal for over ten years, I observe on a daily basis the direct human impact of our current government's destructive domestic & international policies. Close examination of the current Congressional candidates has resulted in my enthusiastic support for David Strand, Democratic candidate for congress.

Early involvement in the Civil Rights Movement and his current work as an immigration attorney clearly establish David's dedication to the concept of "equal justice for all". Working with clients from 89 different countries has sensitized him to global issues and conditions and has aided him in formulating concepts that would move our nation toward greater cooperation and fairness in foreign policy.

David Strand's outspoken support for shifting budget priorities from military interests to vital and creative domestic programs, coupled with his extensive experience of urban affairs (on Cleveland city council), provide the ingredients necessary to formulate policies that can improve conditions in neighborhoods like mine.

Currently an insidious wave of hate rhetoric is being directed at many residents of the Canal. David's enlightened, intelligent, and consistently moral stance on immigration issues has been an important source of support in our ongoing struggle against xenophobic and racist influences. In today's "New California" we can accept no less in a congressional candidate.

Do the right thing! Elect David Strand to the US Congress.

Dorothy Vesecky
Canal Resident &
Human Rights Activist

Green Plans, The Wave of the Future

by Mitra

Resource Renewal Institute recently hosted an international conference on Green Plans - a bold concept which, in the words of Huey Johnson (RRI's founder), "matches the scale of the effort with the size of the problem". The conference's greatest strength was in bringing policy makers and activists together to hear not what could be done, but what has been done. Speakers from Holland, Norway, Sweden, Canada, Britain and Austria all spoke of the Green Plans in their own countries. The basic idea is to define, for a country, region, industry or other entity, a plan which sets targets, budgets and timelines for bringing the group into a sustainable relationship with its environment. The plan should also set out ways in which progress will be monitored and reported.

Defining Green Plans started with the report by the World Commission on Environment and Development which was chaired by Norway's current Prime Minister, Gro Harlem Bruntland. The report, titled "Our Common Future" came out in 1987. The chief message of "Our Common Future" is that it is possible to build a future which gives greater economic and social security while reconciling this with the natural limits to human activities.

As population grows, the Earth's finite resources are spread more thinly. However, the per capita impact on resources can be reduced by the use of better (not necessarily "higher") technology. The challenge is to reduce per capita impact faster than population growth.

Activists around the world pretty much ignored the report, criticizing it as being too little too late. However, it was not what was being said, but who was saying it that was important. The Commission, with commissioners from 21 nations, held hearings in eight countries, commissioned 94 scientific studies and listened to everyone from voluntary organizations to governments to scientists. It seemed to provide the legitimacy needed for concerned individuals within governments and companies to push the issue of sustainable development.

Dr. Paul Hofseth explained to conference attendees how this was especially true in Norway. Bruntland asked each ministry what they had done and what they expected to do to comply with the guidelines of "Our Common Future". A report covering both the environment and its link to the economy was presented to parliament which approved it.

In Norway they diagnosed the country's major problems as shrinking wilderness, the high land-use per person for cars (as compared to trains), and the high level of emissions from cars and heating (especially oil and wood). Environmental authorities were charged with identifying the challenges ahead, setting environmental aims and limits, ensuring society gets the maximum environ-

Greening the Third World

Global environmental damage requires global environmental treaties. Norway's Dr. Hofseth thinks that we should consider drawing a line between global and local pollution. Communities should be able to balance the costs and benefits of controls over local pollution while recognizing the right of all countries to be concerned about impacts, such as emissions of global warming gases that cross boundaries. Environmental regulations imposed as part of Green Plans could cause the movement of industry to countries (such as Mexico) with fewer regulations, or where those regulations can be flouted. This is likely to lead to what is called environmental dumping. Dumping is normally defined as the sale of goods below cost; environmental dumping is the sale below the total cost if environmental costs were taken into account.
We need to recognize the concerns of developing countries. The First World developed without controls and the Third World rightly complains when they are expected to hold back their own development because of the pressures on resources caused largely by over-consumption in the First World. Of course, this assumes a system where people can make informed choices. Often, even in supposedly democratic countries like the U.S., the people making the choices are not the same as those people who pay the costs.

ment per dollar spent, and making sure that the public is encouraged to make the right choice.

In the US the regulatory agencies are understaffed, and penalties for violations are minimal and often ignored. In contrast, Norway expects industry to monitor itself, so enforcement is based on spot checks and severe punishments. For example, a potato chip factory was caught bypassing its emission controls. The government confiscated *all* the factory's profits since the violation started, *and* assessed a punitive fine *and* imposed a suspended jail sentence on the factory's owner.

Now that the plans and targets have been determined at the national level, the government is providing assistance (for example a consultant for a year) to local authorities to develop their own plans. Companies are also now required to publish an annual report on what they've done for the environment.

"Individual choice may presuppose a prior collective choice. For example, for an individual to choose recycling requires a prior public decision to create an infrastructure."

Dr. Paul deJongh

In Holland the process also started in 1986 with O.C.F. and survived a change of government to be unanimously approved by the Dutch parliament in autumn 1990. Dr. Paul deJongh, Holland's Deputy Director for the Environment, noted how it took four years even with a tradition of planning and cooperation. He described how in the mid '80s the private sector was requesting long-term environmental planning so that they could, in turn, plan their investments. He noted that it wasn't the regulations that hurt them, but the uncertainties, "Pre-O.C.F. industry was always asking 'How much will the measure cost?'. Post-O.C.F. we know that environmental quality is a pre-condition for economic development". The conclusions of the "Concern for Tomorrow" report where that: 1) a 70-90 percent reduction of discharges and waste streams is necessary; 2) end-of-pipe methods are insufficient and inefficient; and 3) structural changes are needed.

A key feature of the Dutch plan was the identification of target groups. Covering sectors such as agriculture, transportation and energy, each group was brought together with regulators and public organizations to decide together how to achieve the nationally set targets within a fixed time frame for the least cost and greatest benefit.

Dr. deJongh used as an example one of agriculture's most pressing problems, the amount of manure produced by its cows. The agricultural sector could choose to deal with this in several ways: Cleanup (expensive); Emission control (catalytic converters on every cow!); volume control (fewer cows); or structural changes (reduce, reuse and save energy). In effect the government sets the standards, and then threatens regulations regarding manure production if industry doesn't sort itself out.

Some Principles for Green Plans

Precautionary: do not use lack of final proof as an excuse for not acting.

Polluter pays: make sure the cost of pollution is born by the polluter.

Co-operation: a plan can only succeed by cooperation between industry, government and public interest groups.

True cost pricing: If the true environmental costs are included in the price of a product, then the market itself will encourage good environmental behavior.

Revenue neutral: as you impose taxes on environmental costs, reduce the general tax burden by the same amount.

Targets and actions: either on their own are meaningless

In Canada the process was very different. Brian Mulroney, a conservative prime minister with a poor environmental record, promised that if re-elected he would attach equal weight to the environment as to the economy. He appointed a close friend, Lucien Bouchard, as Minister of the Environment who persuaded him to develop an "Environmental Plan." Bouchard figured he had a twelve month honeymoon to do the job, and completed the plan within that period. The plan was based on a series of 60 "multi-stakeholder, public meetings" held between April and July 1990. Unfortunately, according to Canadian environmentalists, the short time-frame and consensus-seeking nature of these meetings, coupled with the financial ability of the oil and gas industries to send representatives to every meeting, led to sufficient horse-trading to remove any meaningful actions.

Although the plan is watered down, its very existence provides a legitimization for those within government wishing to see Canada move towards a sustainable future. The significant structural changes in government have included making the Minister of the Environment a member of the major committees and a commitment of $3.5 billion to implementing the plan over the first six years. The Canadian province of Ontario is undertaking its own green plan process, called the Ontario Round Table.

ment used key phrases such as "Fact not Fantasy as a Principle for Action," meaning, why do something when you can commission a study? Other unsurprising aspects of the British plan included proposing more nuclear power as a way to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases (principally CO2). An interesting aspect of the British plan is the decision to produce an annual report, "Our Common Inheritance," listing commitments made and the success in achieving them.

The process was started in 1990 following a European Parliament election in which the environment was the main issue. The British elections in April narrowly re-elected a Conservative government, with the environment not being a major campaign issue. It will be interesting to see whether they adhere to even the minimal goals of the British plan.

Dr. Heinz Schreiber, Austria's Director General for Environmental Affairs, explained how the Austrians are launching work on their National Environment Plan this year. "In order to make comprehensive environmental protection a reality throughout the legal system, there is a need for a corresponding incorporation of environmental protection in the Constitution in the form of an 'ecological principle', and the legal assurances associated with this, in particular by way of fundamental rights for the environment and for future generations." he said.

What are the conclusions of this for the U.S.? All countries are different and while we can learn from other countries' successes we need to look at how to adapt it for the U.S. William Randolph Hearst (editor and publisher of the Examiner) believes that we need to connect with the idea of environmental value and to bring that into the fabric of American life rather than adopting a legalistic approach. Dr. Hofseth suggests relating environmental damage to property damage. Several people have suggested a constitutional amendment to affirm everyone's rights to clean air and clean water and to extend those rights to future generations.

Resource Renewal Institute is focusing its energies on promoting the concept of Green Plans. We will be cov-

Whose doing what about what, and why aren't we?

Cars

Holland
Gas about $4.59/gallon of which 70% is tax
Better toll systems
Fewer parking spaces and incentives not to use them
Shift from highway to railway building

Norway
Taxing large cars
Applying pollution control laws to roads

U.S.
Massive indirect and direct subsidies of gas
Huge highway spending program

SO2 (Acid rain)

Austria
Already reduced to 70% of 1980 levels

Norway
Reduce by 50%

Holland
Power plants to reduce SO2 emissions by 85% by 2000

CO2 (Greenhouse gas, global warming)

Austria
Target of 20% reduction from 1988 levels by 2005
Shift to hydropower as source of energy

Norway
Reduce to 1989 levels by 2000
instituting a carbon tax

Holland
1990 levels by 2000
Construct 900MWe of cogeneration capacity by 1994

Canada
1990 levels by year 2000
Tree planting, energy efficient

Britain
1990 levels by 2005
more nuclear power

U.S.
Yet more studies - are we sure the earth is warming

CFC (Ozone destruction)

Austria
complete phase out by 1995

Holland
complete phase out by 1995

Canada
no new production by 1997 NO2 (Greenhouse gas, global warming)

Austria
1996-40%; 2001-60%; 2006-70%

Norway
Reduce by 30%

Holland Reduce emissions from cars by 75% and trucks by 35% (relative to 1980 levels) by 2000
Overall emissions: 70-90% reduction by 1995-2000

Pesticides

Holland
50-70% reduction Garbage

Canada
50% by 2000

Pro-War Candidate Unacceptable

by Don Carney

The opportunities for democracy come in many different forms and sometimes a small group of people can make a big difference. Often, however, the impact of these groups, especially in the electoral arena, can be easily overlooked. While small grassroots groups may not possess the political power and resources to successfully run their own candidates, they can often make or break the candidacies of others, thereby having what might be called an indirect effect on the power structure. The following is an example of how a small, local Peace and Justice group was able to successfully leverage its limited political power to knock a pro-Persian Gulf War candidate out of the 6th district Democratic Congressional primary.

Dick Spotswood, a centrist Democrat, is a San Francisco attorney, director of the Golden Gate Bridge Board, and is currently serving his third term as mayor of Mill Valley. Until recently, Spotswood had been "ordained" as the successor to the sixth Congressional District seat. The local Democratic Party's "old boys' club" had convinced the broader network of elected Democratic officials, both past and present, and several leaders of the traditional Democratic Party constituency groups to endorse Spotswood's bid extremely early in the race.

Although there were two other candidates in the Democratic primary who are respected political players, one having been a past county supervisor and the other a loyal leader in the local Democratic Party's formal apparatus, they are both generally progressive and had been against the Persian Gulf War. The local "old boys' club" was eager to line up endorsements early to exclude support going to these other candidates. Considering that the sixth Congressional District seat is currently held and soon to be vacated by the usually progressive Barbara Boxer, it could be argued that the early endorsement of Spotswood was a conscious effort to move this district seat towards the center.

Several members of the Marin Center for Peace and Justice (MCPJ) who are also part of the Democratic Party network received invitations to the first Spotswood fundraiser to be held February 28, 1991. While many members were numbed and overwhelmed by the death and destruction of the recently concluded war, the thought of replacing the anti-war Boxer with the pro-war Spotswood began to evoke a sense of outrage and determination. The idea for a political action in the form of a picket line at the fundraiser was thrown on the table for discussion.

There was divided opinion among the leadership of MCPJ about picketing Supervisor Hal Brown's house where the fundraiser was to be held. Brown had been an ally in the past and there was concern about alienating him. Furthermore, it was argued that the MCPJ had to maintain its working relationship with the remainder of the Democrat dominated Board of Supervisors if the MCPJ was going to be able to continue placing any of its members on the Marin Peace Conversion Commission. The Commission, which was mandated by the Nuclear Free Zone law that the MCPJ had helped author and get passed by citizen initiative, is made up of members appointed by the Board of Supervisors. This Commission is the first institutionalization of the peace movement at the level of county government and some thought a confrontational action would jeopardize it.

Finally, it was decided that the political power the MCPJ had garnered through its years of peace work in the community and its favorable position in the eyes of the politically aware and active county residents needed to be used to put a stop to Spotswood. To do otherwise would be to relinquish that political power back to the "old boys" from which it had been won. As a matter of courtesy and respect for Brown, it was agreed that representatives from the MCPJ would meet with him before the event and explain to him that this action in no way was directed against him personally.

It was also agreed that a letter would be sent to all the Spotswood endorsers explaining our position and requesting their support in excluding Spotswood from the race for Congress. The letter carried the following message:

"We are writing to ask that you fully integrate your understanding of the connection between war spending and war making and the tragic lack of adequate spending on a vast array of social concerns by supporting only those candidates for higher public office, specifically national offices such as Congress, who reflect such an understanding....We therefore urge you to carefully consider withholding, or withdrawing, your personal support of any candidate for Congress whose public statements on the war in the Persian Gulf demonstrate their inability or unwillingness to reorder our county's priorities away from war and toward critical domestic needs."

On the evening of the Spotswood fundraiser a large crowd gathered in front of Brown's house with picket signs. Picketers were urging those attending the fundraiser to reconsider their support for Spotswood based on his position regarding the war. Many people refused to cross the picket line and the highlight of the evening came when members of the disabled community, who were going to attend the fundraiser and support Spotswood's bid for Congress, confronted him regarding his pro-war stance and left the fundraiser to join the picket line.

Because the Marin Center for Peace and Justice used its political power and favorable reputation with the community and many local politicians, it was successful in challenging the credibility of Spotswood's campaign. Many of his supporters left the campaign and Spotswood ultimately dropped out of the race, stating that he could not raise the money necessary to contend for office. While the Marin Center for Peace and Justice doesn't have the resources to run its own candidates, it has sent a message to the local Democratic Party regarding the power it does have to place the issues of peace and justice on the local political agenda.

Cultivating the Weeds of the Grassroots

by Wendi Kallins

It's election time and America is waking from its political slumber, doing its electoral dance that comes once every four years. This time, in addition to the usual sound-bite, mud-slinging sporting event, we are also witnessing a surge of populist, and pseudo-populist movements. The campaigns of Jerry Brown, Ross Perot and even Pat Buchanan are but symbols of the desire of both the fringe and mainstream Americans to somehow feel that their views count for something. This passion could be harnessed to forge a powerful political alliance. Instead we are witnessing increased conflict, with the disenfranchised turning against each other, duking it out for the crumbs that trickle down from the power elite.

If it is true that our salvation will come not from a strong leader from above but from a fortified grassroots united at the foundation, then we need to evaluate our powerbase. Are people ready for new definitions in politics? Do they even want to be involved? How can we work effectively in such an inhospitable environment? These questions and more are being debated in living rooms and in the halls of academia, from city council chambers to board rooms of national environmental organizations. The progressive left can see the opportunities, but will it seize the moment?

The Apathetic Public

Most media pundits charge Americans with apathy. People just don't care about politics and are only concerned for their own self-interests. Not so, says a study prepared for the Kettering Foundation, a Washington-based think tank. Using group interviews conducted in ten separate locations across the country, the researchers brought together people of diverse viewpoints and backgrounds to discuss politics.

The results were compiled in a report entitled, "Citizens and Politics, a View from Mainstream America." The discoveries are not surprising. People really do care about politics but they feel politically impotent. Contrary to the media hype, people are very concerned about substantive issues but they feel these ideas are discussed in a context beyond their understanding if they are discussed at all.

"The technology of the media controls politics," says a man from Richmond, Virginia. "It's sound bites, it's fast, it's quick. It has distanced everyone from what's really going on." Americans are not stupid. They know they are being manipulated and they resent it. They want to be more informed, but they feel

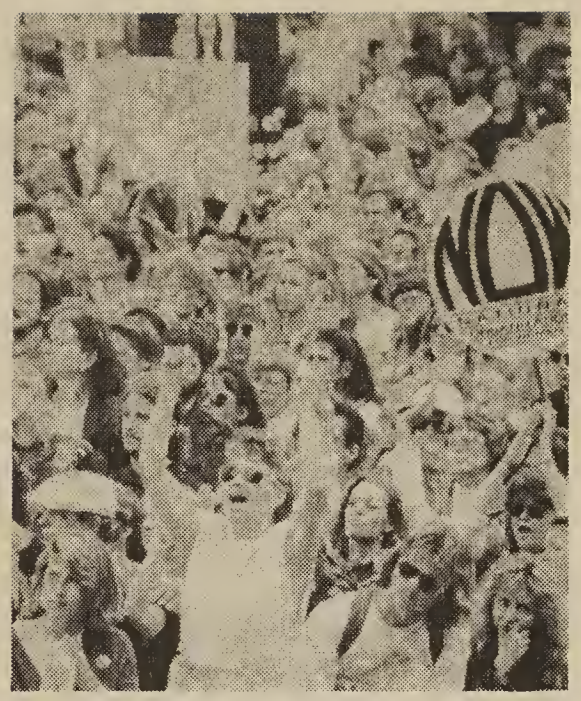
Jim Hightower inspires the troops at the College of Marin. Photo by Allan Smorra

they have been cut out of the process, reduced to spectators.

Yet these same people, who deny activity in politics, are also the ones on the neighborhood committees, the local planning groups, crime watches. When politics has meaning, when their voice can make a difference, people do plug in and they feel empowered from the experience. They just don't call it politics.

According to the report, these citizens' actions give them a personal stake in the issues they are addressing. "Taking action demands that citizens learn about issues and weigh their choices for action; and such action requires that citizens find ways to come together and talk among themselves," says the report. "Thus, beyond the dark, threatening clouds of politics as usual, we find citizens engaged on a daily basis in the solving of public problems."

Can local community politics be translated into the national arena? This is just what the campaign of Jerry Brown is about. Refusing big money, Brown is dependent on the well-being of the communities. His campaign trips resemble those of any grassroots organization, staying in people's homes rather than fancy hotels, being driven by supporters, not limos.



Women rise up and demand their rights in San Francisco. Photo by Allan Smorra

This kind of campaign has proved successful already in races for Congress, governor and even Senate. Lawton Chiles became governor of Florida using populist themes and relying on a pool of volunteers. He, too, limited his campaign donations to $100. Avoiding negative advertising garnered him the respect of a populace weary of malicious campaigning. Senator Paul Wellstone of Minnesota won his seat by overcoming a long and brutal ad campaign waged by an incumbent opponent who outspent him by more than $7 million. Despite the perception that elections are bought and sold before the polls open, time and again the voters buck the odds and elect the longshot because he or she spoke to their needs. We do not have an apolitical populace. We have citizens hungry for involvement and yearning for a leadership that understands them.

Stalemate

But grassroots movements have their own pitfalls. Just as they can pave the way to new and innovate ideas, so citizens' groups have been known to stand directly in the path of progress.

Daniel Kemmis, mayor of Missoula, Montana, explores this political stalemate in his book *Community and the Politics of Place*. America, he argues, was originally founded on the Jeffersonian model of the republic in which the town meeting was the center of political life. "It assumed," writes Kemmis, "that citizens would be presented with many opportunities and much encouragement to rise above a narrow self-centeredness. Only if citizens were, in various contexts, putting themselves in one another's shoes could they be expected to identify with and act upon a personally perceived vision of the common good."

At first glance, this concept would have to be seen as an overly optimistic sentiment about human nature. People in citizens groups time and again deny the greater good for their own self-interests - witness the NIMBY syndrome (Not in my back yard). Kemmis insists it is the system that has set us up.

Jefferson's vision was not the model ultimately installed. Rather a fear of new revolutionary movements arose among the leadership framing the constitution and they sought to keep citizens apart. The Madison model that prevailed "wanted them [citizens] dispersed, disconnected, out of touch with each other. The republican principle demanded a small community where citizens could simultaneously behold the 'public thing.' But the new American order required an expanding sphere precisely in order to keep people from too much beholding of a common unity," writes Kemmis.

In local politics various interests gather their forces and present them to the elected representatives or the electorate for the final decision. It's a boxing match in which each tries to knock the other out, weakening everyone in the process. "The option chosen," says Kemmis, "was to place between the individuals in conflict, not a substantive choosing of a common good, but a process for weighing, balancing and upholding [individual] rights. It is important to be very clear about what this process replaces - namely, direct dealings between parties in conflict."

The result, says Kemmis is that anybody can wreck anything in America, but it takes a tremendous amount

of resources to move an idea forward. He quotes Lester Thurow, author of *The Zero Sum Economy*: "Basically we have created the world described in Robert Ardrey's *The Territorial Imperative*. To beat an animal of the same species on his home turf, the invader must be twice as strong as the defender. But no majority is twice as strong as the minority opposing it. Therefore we each veto the other's initiatives, but none of us has the ability to create successful initiatives ourselves."

Litigation is another thorn in the side of community action. The threat of a lawsuit can stop any creative new idea in its tracks. In essence citizens are not entrusted with responsibility over their own lives. Instead the decision is handed over to impartial third parties. "In the procedural republic," bemoans Kemmis, "we are protected against each other whether we want to be or not. We cannot any longer take responsibility for our actions, directly and face-to-face. And because we cannot take responsibility for our actions, our range of activity is narrowed."

The first step in regaining political power is to be willing to accept the responsibility for problem-solving. Kemmis recalls an incident where two opposing forces turned to the Missoula city council to decide the fate of a non-profit infringing on the territory of for-profit businesses. As mayor, Kemmis could have called the shots. Instead he chose to mediate and forced the two to come to an agreement suitable to both sides.

"It is the issue of responsibility that sets this kind of collaborative approach off from the normal public hearing," comments Kemmis. "Once the parties themselves get the idea that they are responsible for coming up with the answer, rather than simply turning it over to a third party, they are very likely to begin to think and behave differently."

If we are to remove the barriers to ingenuity in problem solving, we may have to be willing to release many of the impersonal bureaucratic traps that have protected us. Transforming our instincts from confrontational politics to cooperative community building will take a new set of rules and a new language. In essence, we are going back to school.

Learning Cooperation

Roger Fisher and Scott Brown of the Harvard Negotiation Project are convinced that the first step to resolving conflict is to form a relationship between the adversaries. In their book, *Getting Together, Building Relationships as We Negotiate*, they explore the process of opening the channels of communication through changes in behavior. "Although it takes two to have a relationship," they say, "it takes only one to change its quality. Just as we react to others, they react to us. By changing our behavior, we will change the way they react." Finding a workable solution to differences, they say, requires the recognition that persuasion is more effective than coercion.

While we may understand these principles in theory we have very little experience using them in practice. Robert Gilman, founding editor of In Context magazine, expands on the power of persuasion over coercion in his article, "Reclaiming Politics" (In Context, Fall/Winter 1991). "Any innovation that can be spread through free adoption will likely spread faster and last longer than an innovation that requires the power of the state to bring it into being." Instead of legislating changes, he says, we must woo the public into understanding and embracing a new way of thinking.

At first, he says, an innovation needs to be refined through experimentation and pilot projects. Once a test model is available, the next step is to develop businesses and organizations that can provide an infrastructure through which the innovation can become available to a wider circle. "This infrastructure is built through spreading the innovation to early adopters, people who are already predisposed to change. At this early stage, attempting to convince the uninterested or the hostile is a waste of effort."

After the infrastructure is in place, the idea is promoted to a broader audience. If the innovation is controversial or if it needs government support to become fully functional, then electoral politics and finally regulation may be necessary. At this stage, however, support is so widespread that legislation is not as easily contested. This strategy for spreading innovation is one in which cooperation, personal responsibility and free will are given priority.

Planning for the Long Haul

This kind of incremental movement building is the antithesis of today's fast-moving politics, yet in it lies more enduring answers to complex problems. People should not look at politics as a four-year event, warns populist spokesman Jim Hightower. A true popular movement is built incrementally, one building block at a time until, over years, the pieces are connected and a national movement breaks through.

Joe Hoffman, who masterminded the successful drive to put the Green Party on the ballot, also warns of grandiose policy making. "I think what organizers really need to do is a realistic assessment of how much political power the Green Party has and how we can invest it to make it grow. It's important to be effective as well as right. I think the Green Party has to stay focused on achievable goals. If we do that, then in a very rapid succession, the goals can become larger and larger and larger. But if we start out with unrealistic goals, our resources will become smaller and smaller and smaller."

In the race to harness the populist uprising of the nineties the right has a distinct advantage. Since it controls the resources, its organizations are infinitely better funded. They also run on a hierarchical structure which enables them to act swiftly and efficiently. While the progressives may eschew this undemocratic power structure, they also often find themselves left in the dust. Unfortunately, the left tends to distrust its leaders and spends an inordinate amount of time scrutinizing every move they make. This lack of trust is a result of our inexperience in building honest relationships.

The conservative right has another advantage that is not as obvious. It is the grassroots support they have already garnered from 30 years of organizing. As Jim Hightower pointed out at a recent speech at College of Marin, the right didn't suddenly come to power overnight when Reagan took office in 1980. They had been working since Goldwater's defeat of 1964, organizing citizens groups and building its power base.

The left has its own longevity, with a much more dedicated power base established within the labor movement, the civil rights movement, the women's, environmental, anti-nuclear, and social justice movements. By involving their participants in the decision-making process rather than running a top-to-bottom chain of command, these movements have already begun the process of teaching people to take personal responsibility and leadership.

The challenge now is, can we get out of our own way and begin to let go of our pet projects in order to unite around common values? People cling to their special interests because they don't believe that anyone else will address them properly. By listening to our adversaries, we not only allow them to release some of the stranglehold they impose defending their own needs, we also make room for our needs to be incorporated as well.

The battle at hand is no longer between left and right, liberal and conservative. We need a vision that protects the environment *and* revitalizes local economies, that provides for housing *and* preserves open space. One that promotes a common good *and* respects individual rights. The enemy is greed and corruption, not opposing political strategies. When we unite behind shared values, rather than issues and interests, we embrace a larger circle and a stronger power base. The grassroots of America is on the rise. Will it be used to turn us against each other, or will we learn how to work together and take control of our own lives? The survival of our species, and perhaps of the whole planet, depends on our choice.

Bibliography:

Getting Together, Building Relationships as We Negotiate by Roger Fisher and Scott Brown, Penguin Books, 1988

Community and the Politics of Place by Daniel Kemmis, Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1990

"Citizens & Politics, A View from Main Street America", the Kettering Foundation, 444 N. Capital St. NW, WA D.C., 20001

"In Context", Context Institute, P.O. Box 11470, Bainbridge Del, WA 98110

Tiptoeing Through the Primaries

by Mitra

Editors note: We're sure that by now you are fed up with the deluge of election materials and with trying to tell the candidates apart. Options volunteer, Mitra, took on the unsavory task of making heads or tails out of the upcoming June primaries. While not doing any formal interviews, he attended candidate nights and poured over the literature to form some viewpoints. Here are his thoughts about the elections.

To quote Peter Behr (when he was a state senator): "Higher office?. As you move away from local office it's not higher, it's just farther".

Lets start with the "farther offices".

President

If ever there was an illustration of the need for a third force in American politics it is the current circus masquerading as a presidential primary. It looks like we will have a presidential race between Tweedledum and Tweedledee. The one hope on the horizon is California's own Jerry Brown. It is a unique feature of American politics that people find it unusual when issues are being discussed. Jerry Brown would bring back the issues in a way totally unlike any other candidate. The most refreshing change is that unlike either Clinton or Bush he would not be indebted to the funders of his campaign, but to the tens of thousands of us who called 1-800-426-1112.

Of course, the biggest winner of the presidential primary has been None-Of-The-Above. Voters have been staying home in droves. As few as 16 percent voted in Georgia, which means candidates are winning with half of 16 percent of the probably 50 percent registered to vote. (For those not good at math that means winning with a grand total of 4 percent). The Green Party of California recently won the right to put None-Of-The-Above on its ballots. If more voters check None-Of-The-Above in any race than either of the candidates, then the Green Party won't field a candidate in that race. If the Democrats and Republicans had the integrity to put such a choice on their ballots, there seems little doubt as to who would win.

Senate

Thankfully in at least one of the Senate races we have a better alternative. Marin's own Congresswoman Barbara Boxer has had an excellent record in congress on most progressive issues. See sidebar from David Brower.

In the other Senate race, well - what can we say? Dianne Feinstein is running yet again, and the progressive community is no more excited about it this time than last.

Congress

With Barbara Boxer's departure for the Senate, and a progressive electorate, the 6th District race has been a juicy enough prize to attract more than its share of contenders. Since it is unlikely that many of our readers are registered Republicans, we'll skip that primary. Fortunately for Marin, we have an unusually good array of candidates to choose from. All the major candidates would carry on Boxer's progressive record and are far superior to the "Democrats" that other districts have to put up with, let alone Filante. Unfortunately it is hard to tell the Democrats apart, for example, on a few key issues:

National Health Care:	All in favor, Strand, Rice and Johnston all favoring a single payer system.
Offshore Oil Drilling:	All against
Iraq War:	All against
Abortion:	All strongly pro-choice
Endangered Species Act:	All support strengthening it

The candidates debates haven't helped much either, as they seem to be

Extracted from a letter of endorsement from David Brower, former director of the Sierra Club, founder of Friends of the Earth and Earth Island Institute.

"Barbara's work for peace in the House of Representatives has been consistently courageous. She ran for Congress on an arms control and environmental platform and, in 1984, co-introduced the first nuclear test ban bill. In Congress she's fought to terminate wasteful and unjustifiable defense systems like the MX and Star Wars, helped author the "Budget for a Strong America," to provide a domestic alternative to high military budgets, and has carried a perfect voting record from PeacePAC's Nuclear Arms Race Voting Index.

"She is also determined to take a message to the Senate that a strong economy is dependent upon a healthy environment. Barbara supports both. Most Californians know her for her tenacious defense of our coasts from offshore oil drilling. But she also courageously took to the House floor to oppose dangerous trade agreements with Mexico and the European community that contain no environmental safeguards or protections for our workers."

structured to provide a comfortable environment for the candidates, with few difficult questions, and even fewer that give a clear opportunity to spot a difference. (See the sidebar on Peace issues). So if the all the candidates think the way we do, then the question comes down to what would they do if elected. Barbara Boxer has been an outspoken and active representative and will be hard to replace.

To represent Marin and Sonoma in Washington we need somebody with experience and strong community connections. We don't want someone who just fights for what they believe, but one who fights for what *we* believe. Boxer has been noted not only for her views, but also for listening to her constituents. At Options we believe in grassroots politics, that our representatives should have been part of the community that elects them, and in particular of the organizations working for change within that community.

Two candidates fit both these categories, David Strand and Dennis Rice. Both have held elected office, and both have the grassroots background to ensure they listen to

Peace & Disarmament

The Marin candidates for Barbara Boxer's seat spoke at a forum co-hosted by the Greens and Democratic Socialists of America. In thequestion and answer session as usual it was really hard to distinguish between them. Each was vying to appear the most progressive (it's a progressive seat, and a progressive audience) without actualy making any commitments.

To stir some debate I decided to ask them for a yes/no on three questions. This generated a bit of annoyance. After all, by stating a position they might piss off some of the audience who felt differently, but Yes/No votes are what one of them will have to do once he or she is elected, so why not test them out at their new vocation?

The three yes/no questions and a follow-up question:

1) Would you have voted for the war with Iraq?
2) Would you vote to close all overseas military bases?
3) Would you vote to unilaterally disarm our nuclear weapons?
4) How much would you vote to reduce our military budget?

Joe Nation had left by this time in the debate, so he was asked the same questions by phone. Lynn Woolsey was represented by her stand-in as she was unable to attend.

	War Iraq	*Close Bases*	*Disarm Nukes*	*Decrease Budget*
David Strand	No	Yes	Yes	66%
Anna Nevenic	No	Yes	No	80%
Lynn Woolsey	No	No	Yes	50% in 5 yrs
Dennis Rice	No	No	Yes	33%
Howell Hurst	No	No	Yes	33%
Bennet Johnston	No	No	No	50% or more
Erik Koenigshofer	No	No	No	50% to 66% over 5 years
Joe Nation	No	No	No	50% over 5 years

After the questions the candidates were given time to expand on their answers. To paraphrase their answers:

David Strand: "We could immediately redirect the money into projects that cities, school boards and regional transport boards have waiting. We could also regenerate the U.S.'s infrastructure while creating jobs and stimulating the economy, There should be a linkage between projects and cutbacks on spending and personnel."

Erik Koenigshofer: "Defense structures are an outgrowth of out-of-date assumptions, so we can reduce those areas immediately. For example, bringing troops home from Japan would save $6 billion per year. Its ridiculous to be spending $17 billion to protect Germany when, as part of the deal for withdrawal of Soviet troops, Germany is paying the people we are protecting them from."

Bennett Johnston: "Wants to achieve total disarmament but believes that unilateral action won't get that - that we need to work in tandem with other powers to do this."

Howell Hurst: "The economy is dominated by the Military Industrial complex, so economic conversion must be created."

Lynn Woolsey: "Stands behind the Common Agenda proposals for a cut of 50 percent over 5 years. The U.S. should take the moral leadership.There is no sense in having any weapons of mass destruction (chemical, biological or nuclear)."

Dennis Rice: "Cut the budget by Up to $65 billion. $37.8 is unallocated and unspent from last year, 10 percent per year (Common Agenda'sproposal) is well within the cushion. We need to support HR3732 so that money can go from military to other programs. We need bases, in for example Panama and the Middle East, especially for the defense of Israel. We need unilateral disarmament coupled with sanctions against countries that don't."

Joe Nation: "Would substantially reduce the overseas bases, say from 330,000 to 50,000 in Europe and also reduce in Asia. Would get rid of up to 80 percent of our nukes, but doesn't believe its realistic to remove all at this time. The only way to reduce spending is to reduce the numbers of people by 50 percent."

Anna Nevenic didnt say much on this (or anything else for that matter).

Conclusion: These candidates all have a pretty progressive stance on peace issues, although only David Strand goes as far as we would like on all the questions posed.

their constituents should they be elected. What is more, their records show them to be truly progressive. Most community activists I've spoken to are backing David Strand. As Don Carney says (formally director of the Marin Center for Peace and Justice) "David continues to pay his dues and be active on a day to day basis in the community and Dennis hasn't been for years, not since he left the Board of Supervisors". Strand, both in person and in print shows a strong grasp of a wide range of issues, he is particularly strong on health care, and environmental protection - both issues crucial to Marin and to the country as a whole.

Two other candidates may meet the requirements of electoral experience and grassroots connections, Lynn Woolsey and Eric Koenigshofer. Their connections are in Sonoma where they are based. Woolsey's strongest stand is on getting federal money back into the local coffers. Koenigshofer is perceived by most people I've asked to be the most conservative of the serious candidates. For example Strand, Rice, Johnston and Nation all unequivocally oppose the death penalty, Koenigshofer hasn't made up his mind yet. With Congress being run by people who sense the way that public opinion and special interest money is going and persuade us that is how they think, (while voting another way,) we feel it's important to elect someone who speaks his or her mind and allows us to choose on election day.

Bennett Johnston is the remaining serious candidate. His experience with the Trust for Public Land shows without question his commitment to the environment. He has, by far, the best D.C. background and so would certainly hit the ground running. Many people do not think he has the same understanding of social justice issues, although on questioning it is clear that he is equally committed to those issues as well. Despite being a newcomer to the district (although he has lived in San Francisco for years) he may very well be Marin's next representative for one simple reason: *Money*. Johnston's father is none other than Senator Bennett Johnston, a conservative Democrat renowned recently for his lobbying on behalf of big oil to open up the Arctic Wildlife Refuge for drilling. Johnston obviously doesn't share his father's view on environmental issues, but he is not averse to using those connections to raise a significantly larger amount of money than the other candidates. To be fair he has now brought in Progressive Assets Management (a respected ethical investing company) to screen all donations, but Johnston will have to convince a lot of people that it will be them to whom he listens to should he be elected.

Joe Nation has experience in politics, and is obviously progressive. However, his lack of electoral experience and lack of experience in Marin's progressive community make it hard to support him for election to Congress at this time.

It is difficult to give other candidates serious consideration, since they lack electoral experience, grassroots support or even a coherent understanding of the issues. In each case we have to wonder why they are running for congress rather than some more local office. Just because anyone can run for office doesn't mean that everyone should.

So to sum it up, it is probably a question of choosing between strong local experience (David Strand) or strong D.C. experience (Bennett Johnston).

Supervisor

We decided that the best way to inform our readers was to allow the candidates the opportunity to address our readership on the issues that matter to them.

A questionnaire was circulated to all the candidates for the third and fourth districts. The candidates answers are below, unedited, and presented in order of verbosity.

In West Marin and parts of San Rafael, you get to choose between incumbent, Gary Giacomini, and two challengers, Dotty Le Mieux and Mike Kittle.

Those of you in Southern Marin have to choose between Betty Times, Annette Rose, Richard Boese and Leon Hunting. Only Betty Times returned her questionnaires. Given Boese's reputation as a conservative Republican, we presume in his case it was because he didn't think you would like his answers!

What should be done with the remaining developable open lands in Marin, especially the St Vincent's/Silveira properties? Should they be preserved for Agriculture or open space, or developed and, if so, how?

Times: A master plan for these parcels must be created that balances environmental protection, view preservation, and reasonable development potential. However I agree that a Bayfront Resources Corridor concept and the areas west of the railroad tracks is valuable, sensitive wetlands. The areas east of the railroad tracks may allow for some form of housing.

Kittle: Remaining open lands, including St Vincents/ Silveira and other developable properties along the 101 corridor should be used for affordable housing and agriculture. Locally grown produce is an important commodity as well as low income housing for young and senior citizens. We must stop an exodus of a local labor pool responsible foran increasing number of businesses leaving the county.

Giacomini: These are very sensitive and crucial parcels and under the evolving countywide plan we must apply a combination of techniques that will: 1) provide permanent protection of the properties located in the Bayfront Conservation zone; 2) provide permanent protection of the view shed; and 3) since this property is located adjacent to Highway 101, provide affordable and moderately priced housing on the areas that do not interfere with either the view shed or the Bayfront Conservation zone.

LeMieux: The St Vincent's/Silveira properties afford a unique opportunity to put into practice what I have been advocating, for sometime, a dialogue between affordable housing advocates and environmentalists. I support the Community Centered Plan concept of the Marin Conservation League that calls for intensive agricultural use on a portion of the property. Contrary to what opponents of this plan say, this would *not* preclude the use of other portions of the land for affordable housing. The crucial question is what kind of development is appropriate in the 1990's and beyond along the 101 corridor? Currently there are projections for 19 million square feet of commercial development in the County. We have to rethink our goals for the County, not simply parrot what those goals were in the 1970's.

The state has demanded that we start construction on the above ground site for the jail within 6 months, or lose funding. How shall the county respond to this?

Times: The Board of Supervisors has voted to build the jail next to the current jail. Unless successfully challenged on the November ballot, the jail will be under construction by the end of the year.

Kittle: I support a "smaller", expandable version of a new jail built outside Civic Center grounds. Additionally, I support the November ballot measure requiring voter approval of any construction on Civic Center grounds.

LeMieux: The County has ignored calls for an off-site jail and refused to consider options such as condemnation of the Honor Farm site where a jail facility is already located, because of their tacit agreement that that site would be available for development.Supervisor Bevis proposed a compromise for a roadside jail that would have a lower impact environmentally, cost less, have room for expansion and make use of alternative drug and alcohol programs. This proposal was rejected out of hand ostensibly because those of us who successfully fought the initial plans for a hilltop jail might sue again. If the County were so afraid of lawsuits, they would never approve any project because there is always a potential for litigation.

Giacomini: Recently I joined the 4-1 Board majority which voted to proceed forth with on the Aaron Green jail. We must do this to alleviate the overcrowding in the present jail and portable buildings,and also so that we can meet the state deadline. If we fail to do this, we will loose approximately $8-million in state money which would be disastrous because we would have to backfill with $8-million in county money at the expense of ongoing county programs.

There is growing opposition to the Buck Center within Marin. Do you believe this center is a benefit or hindrance to Marin? Please elaborate.

Times: I support the project. The proposed project will provide over 300 acres in open space and will create less traffic due to the work on site concept. This is an excellent way of saving open space without having to purchase the property.

Kittle: I totally disagree with Judge Homer Thompson's decision to create the Buck Center for Research on Aging. The Buck will specifically states that all funds are for the "needy" making no mention of medical research. I support spending Buck Center funds on direct services to Marin's needy including senior citizens.

LeMieux: I feel the Buck Center is a totally inappropriate expenditure of funds left by philanthropist Beryl Buck for the poor and needy of the County as well as an inappropriate land use. It threatens agricultural zoning, will be duplicative of other, better situated (near universities and research centers) facilities, will add to traffic and population densities, has potential toxic waste generation, and is highly unlikely to add anything to the fund of knowledge about aging process. If it lures personnel away from other research facilities, it could have the effect of creating a net loss in that knowledge.

Giacomini: I support the unanimous position taken by the Board of Supervisors on May 26, 1987, whereby we unanimously encouraged the court to choose the Buck Center for Research in Aging as one of the Foundation's major projects. As Chairman Brown stated: "I submit to the Court the strongest possible letter of support for the Buck Center on Aging...we think this is the project that is perfectly tailored to Mrs. Buck's will, life and intent. It is also the one project that has the potential of benefiting every human being, because we all age. It is not often that the government of Marin County has the opportunity to help make a decision which can potentially improve the life of every human being. We feel that our endorsement of the Buck Center on Aging is such a decision, and we hope that the Court finds our views of assistance." Regarding the project proposal for the Buck Center to be located near Mt. Burdell, a $700,000 EIR is being prepared which I will, of course, carefully consider. The project must be located on the city-centered portion of the property (a former quarry) and the balance of the property retained for agricultural use.

Health and Human Services in Marin, as in the rest of the country, have been slashed and burned, leaving people with mental disorders roaming the streets. How should we care for these people?

Kittle: I specifically offered a counterproposal to Supervisor Giacomini's open space parcel tax, suggesting a joint parcel tax for health and human services ($25) linked to the open space assessment of $25. I would use these monies to replace funds for public health and mental health which have been drastically cut.

Times: I would look at the budget in terms of priorities. No more across the board cuts. Have community input and continue to provide those services that keep people sustaining themselves. The county has a responsibility to find not only shelter but support services for the homeless. We have to work on providing a service center that will incor-

porate a number of services such as counseling, job referral, showers, bathroom facilities, meals and laundry facilities.

Giacomini: Last year, while the state continued to reduce its financial commitment to health and human service, I was proud to join the Board of Supervisors in adding $5-million to the health and human services budget. This is the most important mission that the County of Marin performs and this year I intend to support the department's request for several additional millions of dollars which will bring our commitment to approximately $70-million annually. We will continue to be the leading county in the entire state in our per capita commitment to health and human services.

LeMieux: The condition of the mentally ill has worsened over the years, beginning in the Reagan (as governor) years when hospitals were closed with the promise of community based treatment. We need to create new priorities in the County budget, and in the County attitude toward the role of the government. Until we re-order our way of doing business, we will fail at trying to solve today's problems with yesterday's solutions. Building bigger jails to house the homeless and mentally ill is more expensive in both the long and shortruns. The County's own consultant has concluded that many such people are in jail who do not belong there. Community based clinics, homeless shelters, including a multiservice center are essential. So far the government attitude seems to be one of "tough luck." In the 1970s we had plenty of money to throw at these problems. Today we do not. Clearly we must create new solutions, not wring our hands that the old ones are no longer available.

What is the best solution to Marin's overwhelming traffic problem? Do you favor light rail on the NW Pacific Right of Way? What would an ideal public transit system in Marin look like?

Kittle: I favor light rail on the Northwest Pacific right-of-way and favor aggressive efforts to reduce automobile traffic with widely favored trains.

Times: I lean toward light rail as opposed to a bus-way. However, it is very important that it be coordinated with Sonoma County to provide a unified transit system on the entire line. An ideal system would integrate light rail, affordable, efficient bus service, HOV lanes throughout Marin and Sonoma counties. We also need subsidized ridesharing, and local shopper busses.

LeMieux: It is hard to visualize the ideal transit system without knowing what the overall Countywide planning document will look like. I do not favor adding lanes to Highway 101, even HOV lanes. I do favor the acquisition of the NWP right of way, with rail the eventual transportation choice. In the meantime, we should look carefully at the plans for a private rail system being proposed now. We should also be instituting small intra- and inter-city bus lines, to eventually hook up with the rail. Any transportation system must be cost-effective, convenient and comprehensive to ever get people out of their cars.

Giacomini: Focus on public transit as compared to asphalt-only solutions, i.e., expanded bus and carpool lanes, new routes that respond to the present demographics of traffic such as the recently implemented Sonoma-Marin bus service and the proposed bus routes from Marin to and from Richmond; extend HOV lanes, free bridge tolls for carpools; subsidized bus passes; database for carpool matching; continue and deepen subsidies to buses and ferries and preferential treatment of car pools. It is absolutely critical to complete the acquisition of the NWP right-of-way before this critical transportation corridor is lost forever. We must come to a consensus with Marin, Sonoma, and all the cities in both counties for the appropriate future uses on the right of way.

What is your position on the loss of affordable housing through the eviction of the anchor-outs and Gates Co-ops?

Kittle: Affordable housing, including anchor-outs and Gates Co-ops, should not be removed or evicted for health and fire hazard reasons until additional low income housing is made available to replace lost housing units.

LeMieux: I think it is cynical in the extreme to advocate affordable housing be built while destroying existing affordable housing in theCounty. We need to provide for a diversity of lifestyle. Many of those at the Gates have been residents for a lifetime. Their lifestyle choices should be respected and encouraged.

Times: Unfortunately, the Gates Co-op is in a catch-22 situation between the Waldo Point Harbor, BCDC and the County. When elected, I will push to be on the BCDC Commission and will work hardto be sure the Co-op is accommodated within the limits of legislation and the law. The displacement of the anchor-outs would be a problem to the community as the loss of the affordable housing probably could not be replaced.

Giacomini: The San Francisco Bay is owned by the public. Under the policies of the Bay Conservation and Development Commission and the Richardson Bay Regional Agency, the anchor-outs must be phased out and connected to appropriate docking facilities which include sewer capacity. I fully support our current policies which would enable members of the Gates Co-Op to connect up to appropriate sewage facilities and would enable those members that comply with health and safety regulations to continue to reside in Richardson Bay.

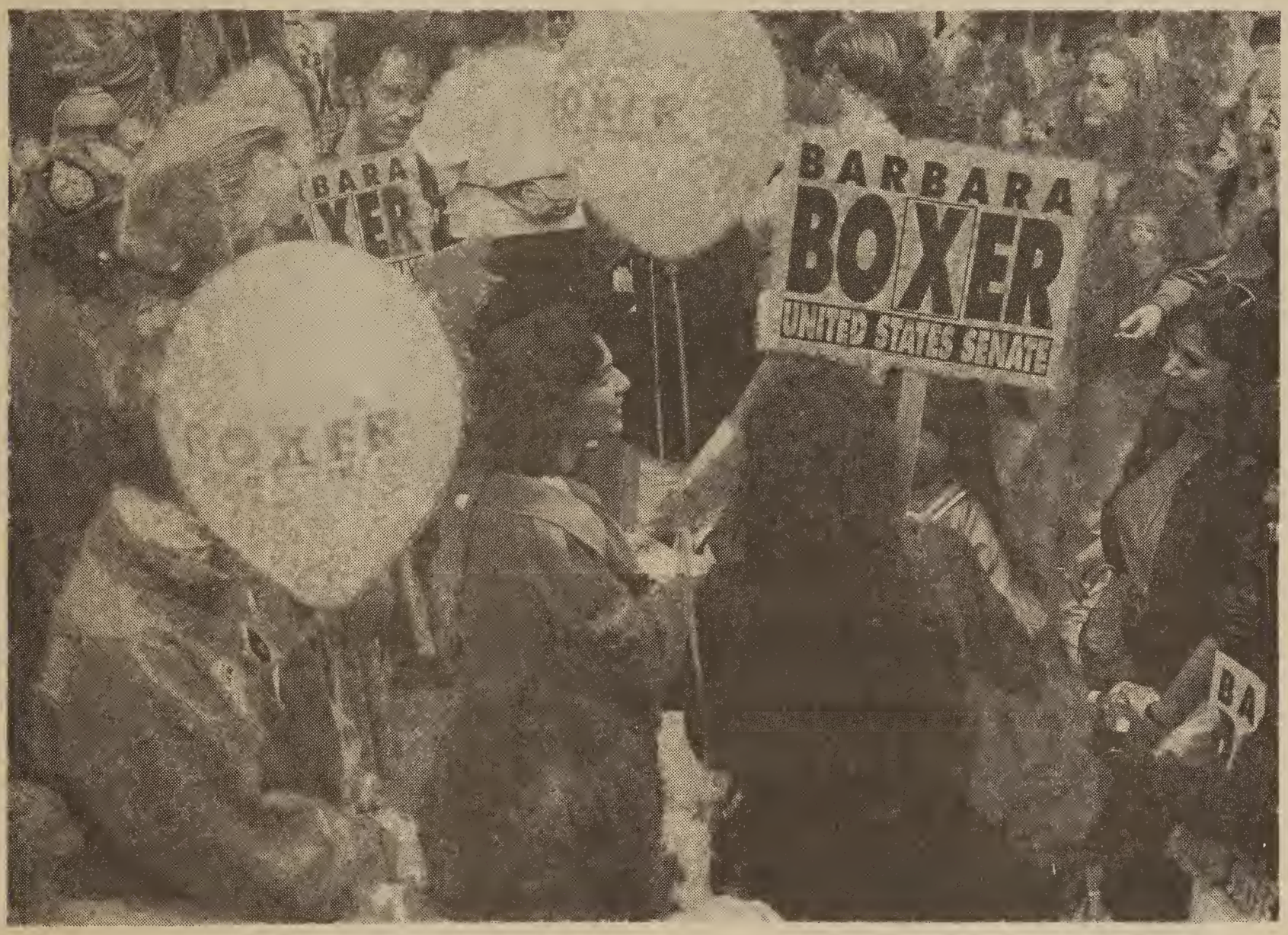
What distinguishes you from the other candidates?

Times: I have been a Marin resident for 48 years. I know the County, how it operates and how it should operate. I am knowledgeable about land use, and the budget process. I intend to approach problems with an open mind and actively solicit community input. I am the only candidate with County management experience and a background in human services.

Kittle: My campaign is for a return of leadership and statesmanship to County government. I am the only candidate with prior experience in reducing the size of bureaucracy. My knowledge of health and human services and employment for recipients of public assistance is unique. In this campaign I support a two-term limit and open, participatory government with widespread citizen involvement.

LeMieux: Unlike my chief opponent, incumbent Gary Giacomini, I have no intention of making a lifetime career out of being a Supervisor. I believe in the citizen politician. When politicians become entrenched they lose their citizen status. I support MCL's plan for a Bay front Resources Corridor, rather than the developers' Marin Vision which Giacomini embraces. I oppose the Buck Center, which he endorses. Unlike Mike Kittle, I have a firm grounding in the environmental community as well as a commitment to health and human services. I believe I am well suited to bring diverse peoples together on issues of import to the County as a whole.

Giacomini: I am a native Marinite and presently reside in San Geronimo with my wife, Linda, and sons, Andrew and Antony. I am an attorney by profession and, after first elected, left the practice of law and ever since have been privileged to serve full time on the Board of Supervisors and twenty-one related boards and commissions. I have been privileged to serve five times as chairman of the Marin County Board of Supervisors, Marin County Open Space District, Marin County Housing Authority, Marin County Redevelopment Agency, and the Marin County Transit District. My service on the twenty-one boards and commissions include: California State Coastal Commission, Marin Agricultural Land Trust (MALT), Mental Health Advisory Board, Chair, Countywide Planning Agency, Golden Gate Bridge, Highway & Transportation District, Local Agency Formation Commission, and Chair, Community Development/Priority Setting Committee.



Barbara Boxer greets supporters at the Women's march in San Francisco. Twelve vie for her congressional seat as she sets her sights on the Senate. Photo by Allan Smorra.

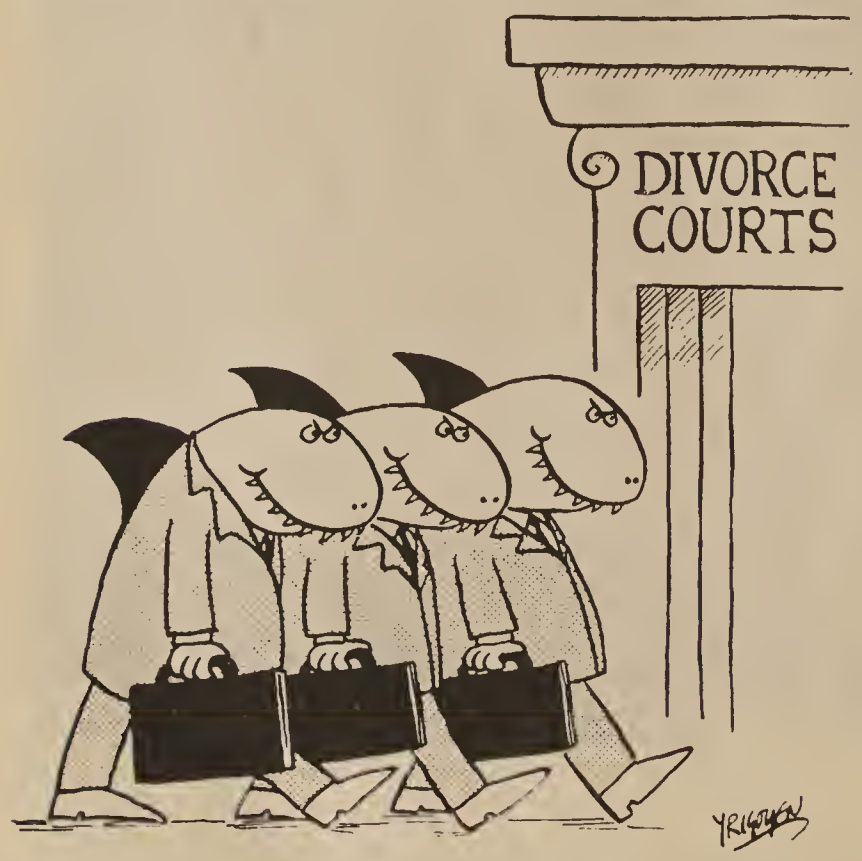
San Rafael Council Swears Off Slimeball Politics

by Jill Kramer

The San Rafael City Council certainly has cleaned up its image. Gone are the days of back-room deals and slimeball politics. Councilmembers emerged from a public hearing in April as staunch and squeaky-clean as a bunch of Dudley Dorights. The hearing concerned ongoing violations of the use permit for the Smith Ranch Road airport. Nearby residents have been outraged for years by strong evidence of collusion between the property owners and city hall. But they fought back, poring over planning department files, showing up at council meetings with detailed records of observed violations, complete with maps and color photos. And, over the course of the last few elections, they threw the bums out.

At the root of the neighbors' fears is the specter of development on the airport property. A 1983 covenant between the property owners, the city and the county prohibits development, allowing only aviation and other uses compatible with the sensitive wetlands area just to the east. The owners, who bought the site after it was restricted, have continually pressed to nullify the covenant. First they tried negotiation - one of the partners is former San Rafael city manager Bill Bielser, a developer with a shady past who still has a friend or two left on the city staff. Bielser's old connections didn't pan out, so the partners sued. The suit is still unsettled, but the latest decision rules that the plaintiffs' case is insubstantial.

Although the city attorney (with considerable help from county counsel Doug Maloney) has apparently put up an earnest defense against the suit, the neighbors keep picking up alarming signals from other city officials. As far back as 1988, the city wrote a provision into its General Plan allowing for the possibility of lifting the covenant and bringing in a housing development, shopping center and golf course. For years, the city looked the other way while the owners allowed thousands of yards of illegal fill to be dumped near the airport runway. The neighbors suspect that their complaints were ignored because the property, below sea level, would have to be filled in anyway before it could be developed.The city's amibivalence surfaced again at the April hearing. Councilmembers were set to consider an appeal by the owners of a resolution adopted by the planning commission last November, which imposed a tough set of requirements for correcting the numerous permit violations. But the report that city staffers prepared for the council recommended several compromises. The report also suggested that the portions of the property under county jurisdiction be annexed to the city.



LAWYERS MOSEY ON DOWN
TO THE LOCAL FEEDING FRENZY

The neighbors panicked at that suggestion - without Maloney in the ring, could the city attorney be trusted to defend the covenant? As it turned out, the council threw out the annexation idea, along with most of the staff-recommended compromises. It seems that San Rafael is at cross-purposes with itself. The last thing councilmembers want is to look like they've been in bed with developers. But city planners want to complete McInnis Parkway, the road that runs past the Embassy Suites hotel just north of the Civic Center and now dead-ends at the Marin Lagoon condominiums. Development on the airport property would justify - and help pay for - continuing the parkway over the wetlands, out to Smith Ranch Road, clear across the St. Vincent's/Silveira land and northward to connect with Highway 37.For now, the council is hanging tough against development at the airport. But the property owners are considering mounting another legal challenge. It ain't over till the fat lady sings, and we don't even see her in the wings.

Bay Birds Win a Reprieve

by Jill Kramer

Wealthy homes in Strawberry await docks. Photo by Allan Smorra

Multi-millionaires, like 2000-pound gorillas, can usually live anywhere they want to. But on Strawberry Spit they're being forced to at least make some concessions to the environment. The Marin Audubon Society won a lawsuit in March against the county for approving construction of nine boat docks on the spit - right next to the waterbird sanctuary in Richardson Bay -without an environmental impact report.

The county has been ordered to do an EIR, to be paid for by the wealthy landowners who want the docks.It's a small victory, viewed in the context of the history of the site. Over the last fifty years, a series of environmental catastrophes have taken place there, some just narrowly averted. Back in the '40s, Strawberry Point was one of two sites eyed for the new United Nations building, a plan that would have turned the area into a major metropolis. Some twenty years later, plans to stud the point with high-rise apartment buildings were blocked when the county changed the zoning. A legal challenge from the property owner went all the way to the Supreme Court before the county's right to limit development was confirmed.But the development that did take place was damaging enough. When the point was graded, the soils

were dumped into the bay. They accumulated, along with soils from dredging the channel, and gradually formed the spit, a narrow tongue of land that runs parallel to the east side of Strawberry Point.

The very existence of the spit is an encroachment into wildlife habitat. Harbor seals that once congregated at the point, displaced by the bulldozers and human traffic, began using the uninhabited spit for a resting and breeding ground instead. The millions of birds who use the bay as a stopover on the Pacific flyway saw their feeding ground continue to shrink. (The Audubon waterbird sanctuary was established in a desperate move to save some vestige of the vast wetlands that once sustained the birds on their long trip from the Arctic to South America. More than 90 percent of California's wetlands have been lost to development.)

By the late '70s, developers turned their attention to the spit itself. With Strawberry lagoon on one side, the bay on the other, and heart-stopping views all around, it looked like an ideal site for high-priced luxury homes. When the master plan was approved in 1980, an EIR reviewed the impacts of housing construction, not boat docks. County planners decided that, if the owners ever wanted docks, they'd have to go through a separate application process, complete with environmental review. It was determined at the time that bird habitat was already suffering, but no mitigation measures were recommended. To protect the seals, the northern half of the spit was designated as a preserve. Developers were ordered to cut a channel through the midsection of the spit, keep it dredged and plant native vegetation to give the seals privacy. In honor of supervisor Al Aramburu's invaluable help in pushing the project through, developers dubbed the new island the "Aramburu Nature Preserve."They botched it. The seal preserve was bulldozed, the wrong kind of vegetation was planted and it died. The seals disappeared.

Meanwhile, the developers began selling the lots, some to real estate speculators, some directly to future residents. Somehow, the new owners of nine of the lots on the lagoon side got the impression that county approval was assured for construction of boat docks. Indeed, everything went smoothly at first when the lot owners applied for the docks in 1990. The county did a cursory study and found the project would have no adverse environmental impacts - partly, staffers said, because the seals were no longer using the island anyway! They didn't even look at impacts on bird habitat.The lot owners hit the first snag when the planning commission disagreed with the staff recommendation, ruling that a closer environmental study would be needed before the project could be approved. The owners appealed to the Board of Supervisors, which overruled the commission by a 3-2 vote, giving the project the go-ahead. Gary Giacomini and Brady Bevis voted no. One month later, the Audubon Society, along with a coalition of other environmental groups, filed suit.But the story doesn't end with the ruling handed down by the Superior Court in March. The property owners may still decide to appeal. Even if they don't, the Audubon victory may turn out to be not much more than a delaying tactic. There is no guarantee that an EIR will stop the project. More likely, it will recommend that the project proceed with mitigation measures taken to protect wildlife. And we saw what hap-

Toughest Battle Ahead for Gates Houseboaters

By Amity Hotchkiss

With its wooden walkways and charming antique houseboats, some have called the north end of the Sausalito waterfront a "little Hong Kong." In recent years the waterfront has been transformed into tidy marinas and new office buildings, while slowly the old boatyards and artists' workshops disappear. The area between Gate 5 and Gate 6 Roads, home to the houseboat community called the Gates Cooperative, stands out as one of the last vestiges of Sausalito's waterfront charm.

Houseboaters only ask for the right to upgrade their homes.
Photo by Amity Hotchkiss

"Not a day goes by when tourists —German, French, Japanese —don't come by and take pictures of our boats, our painted totem poles, our children playing," says Mariposa de Los Angeles, a long-time resident of Gates Co-op.

But when they see the mock skeleton bearing the sign "Death of the Waterfront is Murder Most Foul," many tourists are dismayed by the news that the Gates Co-op may soon go the way of the rest of Sausalito's waterfront.

But these tourists could never be as upset as the 120 or so Gates residents themselves. The docks and boats of Gates Co-op existed in the little cove long before laws were created for houseboat communities. But when new standards for shoreline marinas were drawn up in the 1970s and '80s, Gates houseboaters had every intention of living up to them.

In 1983, the Gates Co-op entered into an agreement with its landlord, Waldo Point Harbor, Marin's low-income housing authority, and the San Francisco Foundation to find the funds to clean up its act and get the proper permits. The Foundation award the Co-op a $720,000 grant for improvements.

Meanwhile, the Bay Conservation and Development Commission (BCDC) had been created to regulate use of Bay waters. Sausalito's anchor-outs (undocked houseboats) and docked vessels became a major target of blame for poor bay water quality. So BCDC designated the "underwater streets" Gates Co-op occupies as county open space, while approving a master plan for a new marina development right next door, the upscale Waldo Point Harbor.

Now BCDC claims that as the landlord, Waldo Point Harbor is violating state codes

because of the Gates docks. Struggling to save its larger houseboat marina, (with 240 residents) which conforms to the health and safety codes defined by BCDC, last year Waldo Point served the Gates residents with eviction notices.

Not one resident has budged, but the action has evolved into a complicated legal battle between the Gates community and a wide web of local and state agencies. Joining the move to remove Gates is the State Lands Commission, which claims that houseboaters in Gates 5 and 6 Roads block the "view corridor" from the hills above Sausalito.

Jane Keostell serves as project coordinator, lately lawsuit coordinator, for the Gates Co-op. She says discussions are taking place among the Co-op's three lawyers to decide what move to make next. The group may file a cross-suit against Waldo Point claiming that by pulling out, the landlord has not lived up to his 1983 lease agreements. "That's just one of the things we're considering," she says. "We've found that when you don't act, you become a sitting duck the agencies can take advantage of."

The community has already spent $30,000 in legal fees, much of it destined for marina improvements, but is prepared to "fight to the last dollar in our savings accounts."

And the residents sit in limbo, waiting. "We're a very closely knit group of people," says Keostell, "so we support each other. But people are afraid and angry, many feel they have been cheated and misled. We did everything we were required to get our docks and boats up to code, and they they pulled the rug out from under us."

This month the fate of Gates may be decided. On May 21, the third pre-trial hearing on the eviction suit will be held in Marin Superior Court. Gates Co-op lawyers are worried the judge may call for a jury trial. "If that happens, it would be a crapshoot whether we'd win," says Keostell.

According to Waldo Point attorney Gale Connor, the Gates Co-op wouldn't have a chance, because the health and safety problems on the Gates docks are massive. "It's one thing to espouse a free and alternative lifestyle," he says, "but it's quite another to learn they don't even have the proper sewer hookups. They'd lose badly in a jury trial."

Gates residents say they long ago installed "blue rooms," to pump out waste from the boats, illegally since a ten-year moratorium on improvements has been in effect. They don't use toxic bottom paint on their docks as do other marinas, and in the early 1970s, they installed the county's first composting toilets before they were banned.

"We were always amenable to environmentally compatible improvements," remembers de Los Angeles. "They told us we couldn't upgrade anything until we got the permits, and now they throw the fact that we're not up to code back in our faces."

The Co-op's goal now is to move the battle from the courts back into the political arena. According to Connor, Waldo Point Harbor is also continuing its discussions with state agencies to try to reach a solution. While the landlord intends to pursue the eviction, "we want to find a long-term resolution," he says. "Through the negotiations, our hope is that Gates boats which could be brought up to code would be moved into new berths and integrated into Waldo Point Harbor. But there are no guarantees."

Also in May, the Gates Co-op and Ecumenical Housing Authority will meet with the Marin Community Foundation, which has kept the grant for Gates marina improvements active. But the grant is in danger of expiring on June 30. "We realize they are in litigation, and we've tracked their progress each year, but this year we'll do a thorough review and assessment of the grant," says Betty Hodges, program officer for the Foundation.

In the same month, Gates lawyers will meet with the Marin County Planning Commission to discuss the Master/Development Plan approved by the supervisors in 1984. In March the commissioners agreed to keep the plan on the books, even though co-applicant Waldo Point had withdrawn from the process, as a measure of their support for Gates' plight.

So this summer may be a tense one for the houseboat community as it marks the one-year anniversary of its eviction suit. To the people who live here and those who have supported them, it's a tragedy. Many of the residents make a living in the creative arts, and could not afford to live elsewhere in Marin. Their eviction could cause a rise in the county's homeless population. "It all comes down to money because our neighbors are more up to code than us, " says de Los Angeles. "But they forget we were here way before they were. First they started building around us, and now they're strangling us."

Can Marin Build Itself Back into Balance?

by Tom Lollini AIA

Marin County is updating its Countywide Plan. For many, this is simply another battle in the "Growth Wars". The reality is more complex, however, and the stakes are significant. Just as the planning decisions of earlier decades have resulted in many of our current problems, those made in the next ten years will profoundly affect the lives of succeeding generations. When weighing the social and environmental costs of planning policies, the present course may be the one of highest risk.

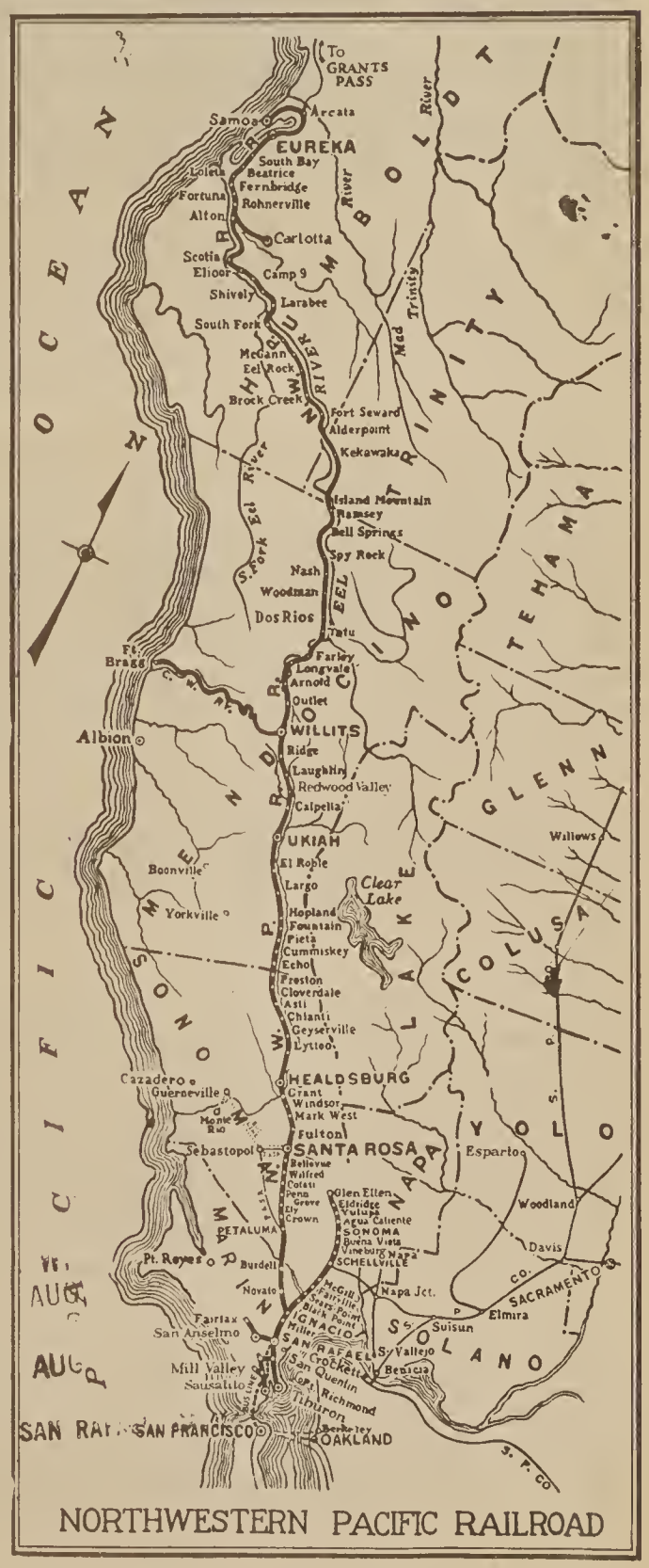
The personal stress brought on by a dysfunctional transportation system, exorbitant housing costs, a destabilized economy and environmental degradation has awakened a common consciousness that we have not been building our future intelligently. Many perceive today's traffic congestion as a direct result of growth, when it is more a result of the way we have grown.

Quality of life is in many ways related to our ability to choose how to live. Today many of us are increasingly frustrated by the limited choices we have. Forty years of low-density auto-oriented planning has yielded a harried, fragmented lifestyle with the automobile as essential to existence as our daily bread. Since 1980, the number of cars in the county has increased five times the rate of population growth. We not only drive to work in ever increasing numbers, we drive to shop, to school, to visit, to "run" errands and to play. In the process we seem to be driving ourselves crazy as we foul the air we breathe. The social costs are staggering. Families barely have time to earn a living and accomplish their daily routine, let alone spend time with children, parents and neighbors. The cohesiveness of our communities suffers immeasurably from the lost benefits of social participation.

The availability of housing which people can afford is also a social issue. People who work hard at what they do should have housing alternatives that fit their pocket, yet enable them to live productive, meaningful lives. A recent study by the Ecumenical Association for Housing concluded that Marin's existing population will generate the need for over 10,000 units of affordable housing in the next 30 years as our senior residents age and our children mature. This figure excludes current need and demand created by future job growth, and thus represents demand created by demographic change within our communities.

Marin is not immune to the effects of regional transformation. Though Marin's population has increased little more than three percent since 1980, the region has grown nearly five times and Sonoma almost ten times as fast. These regional changes have amplified the environmental consequences of local planning decisions. Housing development in Sonoma and job development in the East Bay have increased traffic through Marin because we are not effectively linked to a regional transit network.

Decline, growth and change are fundamental forces in the evolution of human societies. These forces create dynamic, economic and social effects within communities as the population ages and the economy evolves to accommodate the next generation in migration and technological innova-



tion. The inevitability of local change due to forces beyond local control suggests that working with these pressures rather than against them may be a wiser course of action. The challenge of planning is to anticipate and channel these forces toward beneficial change within our regional environmental context.

The time has come for a planning approach which is directive rather than re-active, an approach determined not by default but by design. If we are to improve our quality of life for ourselves, our children and our grandchildren, we must recognize the social and economic aspirations of people as an integral part of our ecology. Rather than focusing our response on the functional demands of the automobile, we should strive for a mutually beneficial relationship between built and natural environments.

A healthy economy, affordable housing, a protected natural environment and a public transit system that works are not mutually exclusive goals, but they can only be achieved through innovative planning and political determination.

To build well or not to build is the dichotomy in the philosophical underpinnings of the environmental planning movement. Historically, the Bay Area has been in the forefront of this debate, and Marin has played a leading role by developing innovative programs and regulatory mechanisms for achieving environmental objectives. The present challenge is to meld these philosophies into consistent and effective planning strategies. A brief summary of the origins of the movement may shed some light.

In the late 1930s, after a decade of the Depression, social justice was high on the urban agenda. Young visionaries, who had great faith in the ability of physical planning to enhance the quality of people's lives, dreamed of garden cities connected to the region's heart. A group of young architects and land planners was formed under the name of "Telesis", a new word defined thus by Webster's: "Progress, intelligently planned and directed; the attainment of desired ends by application of intelligent human effort".

Stimulated by the potentials of new technologies and aware that all was not well with the world at large, the focus of their efforts was on the betterment of the physical environment and its social purposes. Sensitivity and concern for the superior natural landscape of the region, then accessible by such transportation delights as streetcars, ferryboats and electric trains, was their primary inspiration.

Through their pioneering efforts and subsequent professional accomplishments, the Bay Area maintained its unique quality while nearly tripling in population. In the 1950s, when the national highway program was picking up steam, Telesis alumni and their proteges were planning a regional transit system, and spearheading the San Franciso Freeway Revolt.

North of the Golden Gate, the 1930s witnessed the formation of another environmental organization, with a different focus—preservation of the natural landscape. Born of the land conservation movement, the Marin Conservation League and like-minded citizens and community leaders profoundly influenced the planning of our county. Largely due to their efforts, more than 80 percent of the county's natural landscape is now protected.

In the 1930s, Marin's population was 41,600 people. Non-rural residents lived in towns close to jobs and transit. Many lived over the stores in commercial districts or in small lot subdivisions within easy walking distance of shops, schools, services and social activity centers. Professional and commercial offices were frequently above street level shops and restaurants. Each town had its local hotels and boarding houses. Key cities had grand resort hotels, opera houses, roller rinks, public baths, and other community facilities.

These land use patterns were served by a highly devel-

oped and diverse transportation system comprised of electric and diesel trains, ferries and steamships. Automobiles, owned by a mere quarter of the county's population, mixed it up on narrow streets with bicycles and pedestrians. Walking was a common way to visit, shop, attend social events or reach public transit. Whether heading to big cities, the Sierras, or the local soda shop, there were two or three ways to get there. The alternatives seem idyllic in comparison to today - nearly sixty years later. We now have about 5 1/2 times as many people, but more importantly, we have 17 times as many cars.

Can Marin build itself back into balance? For our sake and the sake of future generations, I certainly hope so. to believe otherwise would be to abandon intelligent effort to achieve a better future. Much of Marin's built environment is environmentally underutilized. Nearly 30 percent of urbanized land resources are devoted to the circulation and storage of automobiles. By recycling of this poorly urbanized land we can achieve community goals.

Traffic engineering should not be the sole design determinate in shaping our communities. The quality of the human experience is far more important. Slow traffic creates an environment where pedestrians, including children and older people, enjoy safety and the freedom to walk about. A strategy that attempts to limit congestion to areas where it already exists and focuses investment on transit improvements, infill and redevelopment should be created.

Transit development should be an environmental priority. Building on Marin's legacy of innovation in environmental planning, we should implement a transportation strategy to reduce our forced dependence on the automobile. Marin must be linked to a regional transit network with a rail system. To delay this linkage would be environmentally irresponsible from a regional and local perspective. We are about to spend nearly $100 million to widen the freeway through San Rafael by nearly 50 percent.Adding asphalt does not address our true transportation needs. Marin drivers consume nearly 200 million gallons of gasoline per year. By what environmental rationale should we preclude change in our built environment which would reduce this rising pattern of consumption.

Creating housing and protecting open space can be strategically linked objectives. The pressing need for housing can be used as a tool for securing open space designated for protection by planning policies which encourage residential development in commercial areas through the purchase of transfer development rights from desired open space. Put simply, building housing would secure open space.

Parking should be viewed as a competitive land use, and assessed accordingly. A parking tax could raise revenue for transit while encouraging transit use. Parking requirements should be reduced in areas accessible to transit. by contrast, current regulations require new development to provide paving in equal or greater amounts than the area planned for human activity. Higher densities, in the range of 20-30 units per acre (2-3 stories), would generate less than half the number of trips, require approximately a quarter of the land, and consume significantly less water and energy, and be much more affordable to our population than single family housing. Mixed use development would offer the additional advantage of being able to park once and walk to many activities.

Marin's traditional city centers have lost much of their significance in the daily lives of residents. Sapped of economic importance by commercial sprawl along the freeway, many communities are struggling to redefine the meaning of "downtown". Commercial and residential redevelopment could give new life and social purpose to these areas. Affordable housing, above various ground level uses, would offer older and younger residents housing opportunities within their home communities. Narrower traffic lanes could increase the availability of on street parking and release land used for parking, for housing and human enterprise.

Infill housing along commercial arterials could enhance their visual quality, support neighborhood shops and services, and provide easy access to transit. Commercial and industrial parks, presently lifeless 80 percent of the time, could become more diverse, identifiable communities through the insertion of housing and mixed use development. Live/work housing could add vitality and offer affordable opportunities for start up firms in an age of high technology. Creating a sense of place for these poorly urbanized areas could only improve the overall quality of the County.

The historically developed lands along the rail line east of Highway 101, in areas such as St. Vincent's, Hamilton and Black Point, present opportunities to develop new model communities which meet a full range of environmental goals. With thoughtful design, the Bayfront Corridor north of the Marin Civic Center could absorb all its present development potential and still preserve 85 percent of the land as open space. If linked by rail transit to the rest of the region, alternatives such as walking, bicycling, skating or electric motor scooters could serve many of the communities local needs and significantly reduce traffic impacts. From a regional environmental perspective, every home or apartment built in Marin, could preserve an acre of land at the fringe of the region.

Planning which ignores the human dimension has yielded an increasingly dysfunctional built environment; one that is in many ways ill suited to our desired quality of life. A proactive approach to planning could empower us to create livable, environmentally sustainable communities in our County. This will never be achieved, however, unless we look beyond our windshield to find solutions which recognize human endeavor as an integral component of the local and regional ecology. A "just say no" approach to development is simplistic and, ultimately, self defeating. Building ourselves back into balance is not a choice, it is our challenge. It is also an environmental imperative.

Going Native to Save the Rainforests

by Lisa Alpine

"I am far from Buddha or the purity of God...I am just a poor searcher."
—Bruno Manser

Bruno Manser knows something most of his Swiss compatriots don't: how to hunt with a blowgun. He first learned this skill out of curiosity, then out of necessity. Bruno crossed the line. The invisible line separating Westerners from primitive tribal ways.

Until 1984 Manser, then 30 years old, led an obscure life high in the Swiss Alps tending goats and exploring caves. A haunting childhood fascination with all things lush and mysterious in the jungle - as foreign from his neat, efficient homeland as possible - led him on a journey to Borneo. Borneo- fables of headhunters and huge snakes writhe in its name. His fantasy was to disappear into its rainforest and "go native". From this naive, escapist dream he unwittingly walked into a harsh spotlight and became the spokesman for a tribe on the verge of extinction.

Once 10,000 Penan nomads roamed the vast rainforests of Sarawak, a Malaysian state in northern Borneo. Bones of their ancestors found in Gunung Mulu National Park have been dated at 40,000 years. Only 650 nomads survive today. Once titled the "professors of the rainforest" by a scientific expedition to Sarawak 10 years ago, they are the last hunters and gatherers left in Borneo. The scientists acknowledged that it is with the Penan that the key to the real wealth of the rainforest lies. In small family groups they hunt for wild boar, monkey, and barking deer, armed only with their blowpipes and poison darts. Every few weeks, following the seasons of the ripe fruits, they move to a new place and build their shelters from saplings and palms. The forest is their home, their culture, their livelihood, their inspiration and their religion. To them the trees, the earth, the rivers and every living thing has a soul and an existence of its own. This belief which they call "adat" acknowledges the balance and harmony each

person keeps with all things. Nature is the Creator, while the Penan are the caretakers.

Once in a library in Switzerland Manser saw a photograph of a Penan hunter and it stayed imprinted in his memory. His curiosity was piqued and further research revealed Borneo not only to be home to this remote tribe but also to have the world's most extensive network of caves. Manser arrived in Borneo in search of an adventure most of us only dream about. He soon became conversant in Malay and joined up with a British spelunking expedition. When their explorations ended, he stayed on with the hopes of locating the Penan.

He had been told about a group of nomadic Penan living in a region called the Ubong. He struggled on foot for many days-without food or water at times - through the jungle. On the verge of turning back, he climbed a tree and saw, rising above the verdant jungle canopy, a wisp of smoke. This led him to his first encounter with this shy, passive people who have avoided most contact with the outside world until recently. Over the next six years of living with them, Bruno was "adopted" as a son into the tribe. He wore their garments, ate their food, hunted with them and learned their music.

Soon the paradisical native life he so craved was marred by the sound of logger's bulldozers encroaching upon virgin soil. He didn't escape our modern day reality at all. In fact its greed and hunger for high profits at low investment stood right in his face and roared. Bruno not only became enmeshed in the Penans' way of life but in their struggle to survive and became a key component in recounting their frustrating tale of pillage to the world's ear. He helped the otherwise passive Penan to organize and protest the logger's invasion. He encouraged the Penan to form blockades and in doing so invoked the wrath of the Malaysian government.

Sarawak's virgin forests are disappearing at double the rate of destruction of the Amazon. And what is the Penan's forest being destroyed for: packing cases, disposable chopsticks, furniture. The government ministers have their own dream, that of progress and profit. Malaysia is not a poor country. It is the world's leading exporter of tin, rubber, and tropical woods. Malaysia in 1989 exported more than $1.7 billion in timber. Unfortunately most of the logging concessions are owned by government officials and their relatives. As far as the government is concerned the land the Penan roam belongs to the state and is theirs to log. The constitution allows people of all backgrounds to have equal rights to land, provided they settle on it. Nomads have no such right. They only will be allowed ownership if they settle into the mainstream of Malaysian society. The government which profits from their dispossession portrays the Penan as Stone Age people, who live like pigs and should settle down and take the benefits.

The mouth of the Beram River is a muddy brown color from erosion caused by heavy rains stripping the soil off the earth's mantle where the trees were ripped away. Japanese ships hover on the horizon where the muddy tide of the Beram mingles with the South China Sea. The cargo vessels are filled to the gunnels with logs. On the banks of this river most of Sarawak's 7,500 resettled Penan now live, chased into squalid tribal settlements by the voracious appetite of the logging companies. The settlements are shanty towns where promises of education and entry skills into society for the Penan have been forgotten. The

How You Can Help

* Boycott tropical hardwood products from Malaysia. When shopping for furniture, plywood and lumber, inquire into its origins and let the store manager know why you refuse to purchase wood products from Malaysia.

* Purchase *Wood Users Guide* published by Rainforest Action Network. This book informs the consumer on how to avoid purchasing tropical hardwood products and suggests alternatives. To order call 1-800-989-RAIN. The cost is $10/post paid.

* Write the Prime Minister of Malaysia urging him to stop the deforestation:

YAB Dato Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, Prime Minister's Dept.
Jalan Dato'Onn, 50502 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

* Call RAN about "International Timber Day of Action" on May 11. For more information on events and protests around the world and information on the devastation of the rainforests call Rainforest Action Network (415)398-4404.

* For local information, call Marin Rainforest Action Group, 459-1986

* Bruno Manser has a fund to help support his efforts. Send donations to The Bruno Manser Fund c/o The Society For Threatened People, 78 Bruwger Straase, CH-5400 Baden, Switzerland.

people are left with poverty and little hope for a better world for their children. One man puts it "Now we are like a child in an empty hut. A child who does not know how to look for food himself. From what will our children live, when all the sago palms and fruiting trees are killed, and all the animals gone? From what will they live? So that's the reason we don't like our lands being destroyed. There is still some food, but if the companies don't stop now, we don't eat. Maybe we will all die." Another resettled Penan feels that, "We are now like fish thrown onto the land. We don't eat dollars - we eat the heart of the wild palm, wild boar and sago."

Unwilling to fashion their culture to the federation's requirements, the nomadic Penan chose to resist. In 1985 Manser played the role of secretary in drawing up a petition to the government seeking protection for 500 square miles of their homeland. Their request was neglected and in frustration Manser urged the Penan to take more direct action.

Not headhunters, when conflict arose in the past the Penan would melt into the jungle. In his six years with them, Manser says, he never saw a Penan quarrel or a person not share their food equally. Manser points out "You will never find one with a full stomach and another who is hungry." To resolve disputes they go by consensus. Both men and women take part in the discussions. People just talk on, sometimes for days until a decision is reached.

It took great effort to reach an agreement on what tack the Penan should take regarding the logging. Some young men thought the only way left was a silent poison dart into the throats of the loggers. Others just wanted to give up and move to the settlements. Bruno would sit in on the meetings and often translated the words of Mahatma Gandhi from the book "Freedom at Midnight". For hours, the Penan would pass around the book and study the photos, trying to comprehend the message of social protest by non-violent means that imbued Gandhi's life's work.

After the first successful blockade in 1985, Malaysian officials could not believe that these simple forest folk could organize resistance. They pointed their finger at the white man and ordered his arrest, charging him with subversive activity. Manser is adamant to credit the Penan for their strength in the position they have taken. "The Penan organized themselves, I have not been their leader, just their secretary and adviser."

By 1987 the Penans' resentment had built up and Penan and other indigenous communities had shut down roads to 23 logging sites with over 1,000 Penan participating in the blockades. The logging camps ground to a halt, costing the timber industry several million dollars.

All during this time Manser sought refuge in the forest and put to use all the knowledge of jungle survival that the Penan had passed on to him. Stories in the Malaysian press painted Manser to be some kind of fugitive potentate, carried through the jungle on a bamboo throne, others portrayed him as a communist trying to incite bloody revolt and as a threat to national security. According to Manser's Western friends in Sarawak, several logging companies put a $30,000 reward on his head. Security forces dispatched commandos to search areas where Manser had reportedly been spotted.

He had several close calls and once, while delirious with malaria, the police captured him but Manser escaped by diving into a deep ravine with bullets flying around his ears. They had discovered his camp and confiscated all of his possessions including journals containing all his drawings and writings, as well as the Penan dictionary he was compiling. He was so depressed after that incident he nearly gave himself up to the police in exchange for the return of his work.

His philosophy during these dangerous times was, "Well, about life, I think I'm not as afraid to die for I know that everyone of us has to die one day. And if my time will come, then I have to accept it. But of course I like my life and as long as I can stay alive, I will do my best to do it. In fact, I have been thinking a lot lately about fear. And fear is such a silly thing. It just costs energy and when you think it... that's what you get. Of course, there are police and when they are really near and they want to shoot, of course I'm afraid, but I will try to do my best. But I also think even when you die you can take nothing with you. Just your heart. That's what counts."

Manser eluded capture for five years and continued to document the Penans' way of life in his journals. The painstaking detail in his current journals expresses great love and respect for the people and their forest. Hundreds of lavishly illustrated pages, written in beautiful script, record all aspects of Penan life. Bruno didn't need a camera to

capture the many faces of the Penan...he had his pen.

The international environmental community urged him to come out of hiding and call global attention to one of the world's most severe deforestation crises and the plight of the Penan. He finally fled the country heavily disguised and with a false passport in 1990.

Manser's status as an environmental celebrity has continued to escalate with his bold actions. Last July he chained himself to the top of a lamppost in front of Westminster Abbey during an economic summit conference to protest the rainforests' destruction. He is about to publish a book on his experiences in Sarawak titled "Voices of the Rainforest." Manser is also currently touring worldwide to heighten publicity on the plight of the indigenous people of Sarawak with Andy Matang, a Kelabit native from Sarawak who was arrested recently for protesting. The issue is escalating in Sarawak. In early February the government sent in army personnel to dismantle the major blockade that had been successfully in place since June of 1991. The Malaysian government is getting nervous and has organized a task force to sway Japan and the U.S.'s considerations of a tropical hardwood boycott.

Bruno's concern affects us all. A recent series of articles in Science magazine warns that "our descendants will inherit a biologically impoverished world of rats, ragweed and cockroaches unless rapid and radical action is taken to check population growth and save wildlands and vanishing species."

The authors claim that "the planet is losing 4,000 species a year from tropical deforestation alone. Perhaps 50,000 species a year - five an hour - become extinct as fires and chainsaws chew up an area of rain forest the size of Florida."

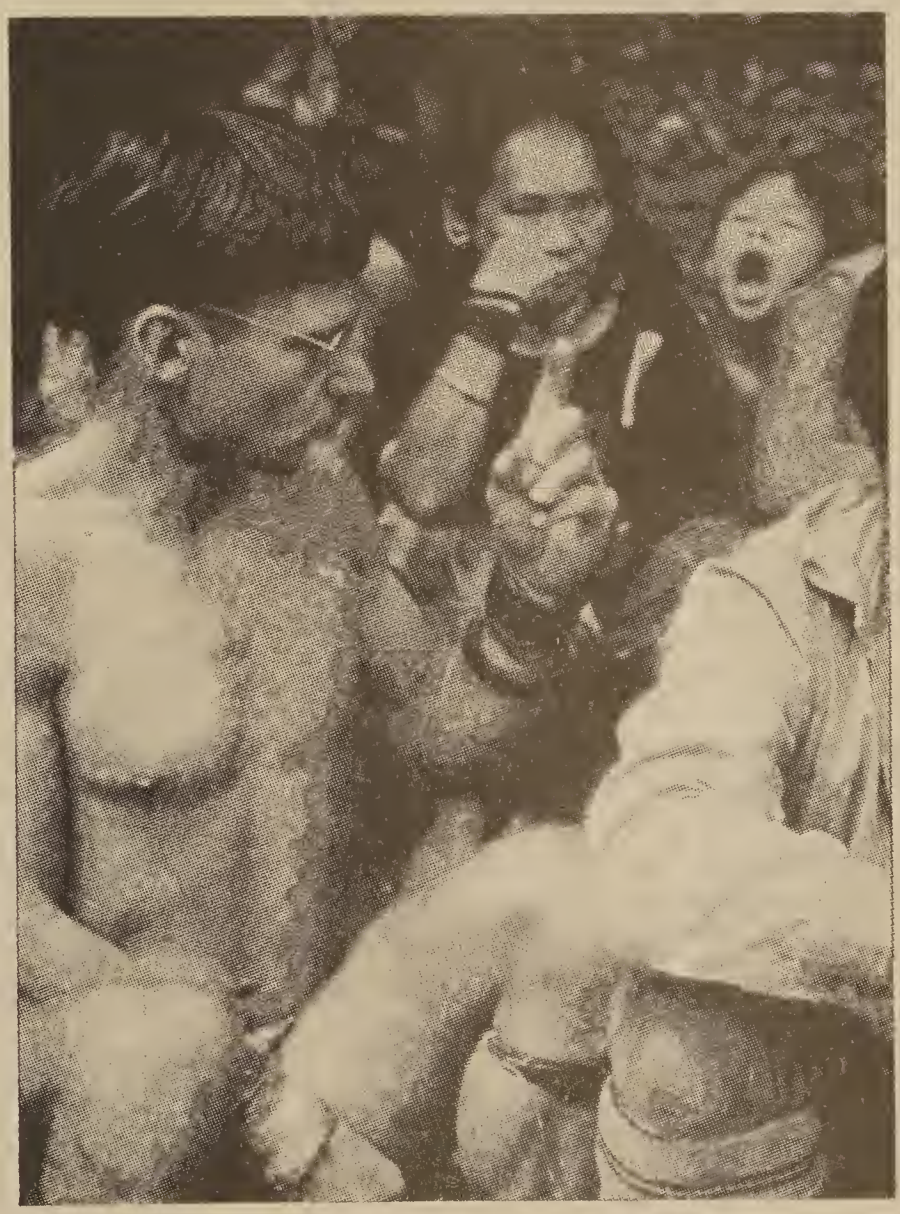
Given current trends, the articles forecast that the planet will lose at least a quarter of its species in the next 50 years, a change that could set off "cascading ecological effects" and lead to landscapes populated primarily by "weedy" species such as rats, ragweed and cockroaches.

Every year since the turn of this century at least one tribe like the Penan becomes culturally extinct. Manser pleads for us to help the Penan so they don't become this year's statistic, this year's lost tribe, lost culture.

The fate of a vanishing tribe is a small picture of the big one: the fate of a vanishing planet...only we aren't just talking about insects and plants - we're talking about a race of people.

Bruno has his own reasons for risking his life for nomads wandering in a jungle on the other side of the world from his native Switzerland, "I am far from Buddha or the purity of God...I am just a poor searcher. We all came from the forest, we were all born here and these people are like our roots. I came here wanting to see life from all sides. We have got to get out of ourselves and feel the "you" not just the "I"...to feel the soul; and that's something that really interests me."

This story was originally published in Wilderness Trails, Winter 1991. It is reprinted with the author's permission.



MARKETPLACE EXCHANGE

Products and Services from people who care about the earth

GIFT SHOPS

Folkways East
63 Bolinas, Fairfax
453-1209
Tues-Sat. 10:30-6
Traditional arts & crafts of Asia at affordable prices.

Sawtooth Quilt Shop
1560 Fourth St., San Rafael
Fourth St. between E & F Streets 453-1711
Mon-Sat 10-5:30
100% cotton fabrics * classes * quilt restoration.

Crystal Reflections
425 San Anselmo Ave., San Anselmo
454-8233
10 a.m. - 6 p.m.
Fine jewelry - Gem Stones - Minerals.

Sherman's General Store
61 Bolinas Rd., Fairfax
454-6576
10-6 M-Sat. Sun 11-3
For the best of everything.

Slightly Touched Greeting Cards
Penny Yrigoyen 707-485-8414
Hilarious greetings cards. A great new way to laugh. Available at local stores.

Culture Shock
7 & 11 Bolinas Rd., Fairfax
456-6018
Open 7 days 11-6
International imports & curiosities. clothing, jewelry & artifacts. Visit our new discount section at 11 Bolinas Rd.

Ilene English
Glass Artist
245 San Anselmo Ave., San Anselmo
457-2082
Custom-designed stained glass windows, repairs, gallery, gifts, classes.

CLOTHING STORES

Primitive Art Outlet Store
47 Broadway Ave. Fairfax
454-3669
11-7 daily
Family clothing, jewelry, and gifts at affordable prices. When you shop at Primitive Art you're helping Third World artisans help themselves.

HEALTH PRACTITIONERS

Dr. Linda Elyad & Dr. William Finn
22 San Pablo Ave., San Rafael
459-3330 by appt. open wkends and eves.
Achieve comfort again with quality Chiropractic care. Self care and movement re-education. Treatment tailored to your specific needs and goals. Massage & adjustment $50.

Stuart Kutchins, Doctor of Oriental Medicine
32 City Hall Ave. San Anselmo
459-1868 by appointment
Acupuncture, Chinese medicine, postural integration, cranial therapy, visceral manipulation.

San Anselmo Chiropractic; Neil Kraus, D.C.
130 Greenfield, San Anselmo
456-3435
M-F 8:30-12:30; 2:30-6:30; Sat 9:30-11:30
Family chiropractic care fostering life in balance.

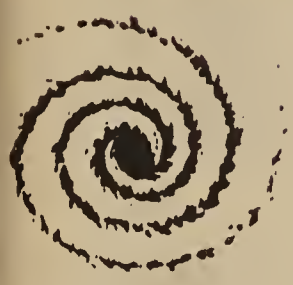
Takashu Latimer C.M.T.
Conscious Body Therapy
927-0624
By appt M-F 9 am-9 pm and wkends
Soothing, relaxing bodywork using Swedish, lymphatic, deep tissue, sports and Shiatsu massage. Gift certificates available.

A Magic Touch
Massage by Cliff Peterson, C.M.T.
381-4969
by appointment
Swedish, Shiatsu, along with rocking and shaking, deep tissue work, breathwork and stretching. Each session is unique and tailored to the individual.

COUNSELING SERVICES

Susan Leonard, MA, MFCC #28553
485-2655
Individual, group, and relationship therapy, conducts ongoing therapy group for women emphasizing ritual, guided visualizations, and creative arts to help unlock old self-limiting patterns. Specializes in addiction recovery and ACA/co-dependency issues. Certified expressive arts therapist.

Hermina M. Rosskopf MS.
817 D St. San Rafael
924-0607
Psychotherapist. Licensed marriage and family counselor.
Specialist in Older Adults Issues - Depression, grief, loss loneliness, retirement. Individual growth-oriented psychotherapy, counseling for couples, families and groups. Retirement support group.



Barbara Rozen MFCC
1703 Fifth Ave. #205, San Rafael
383-2309
Experienced Psychotherapist and consultant for: adults, older adults and their families, and individuals with coexisting medical and psychological concerns. Crisis management, coordination of care and medication monitoring. Available for home visits.

ENVIRONMENTAL TESTING

Safe Environments
400 Preda St., San Leandro
549-9693 or 1-800-356-2663
Allergies, migraines, colds & flu? Get well now. We test on-site for radon, pesticides, formaldehyde, asbestos, electromagnetic radiation. Home or office. Environmental inspections for home buyers.

ENVIRONMENTAL PRODUCTS

The Water Store
184 Bon Air Shopping Center, Greenbrae
Off Sir Francis Drake near the junction of Hwy 101 & 580
461-4040
M-Th 10-7; F/Sat 10-5
Water Conservation & Purification systems for the home & office. Bottles, crocks, stands, spritzers, dispensers & other water related products.

Eco Source
Products for a Safer, Cleaner World
380F Morris St., Sebastopol, CA 95472
707-829-7957
Your best source of hard-to-find earth-friendly products for home and office. Visit our showroom or call for FREE 48 page catalog.

WATER CONSERVATION

Big Dipper Irrigation Service
P.O. Box 1988, Novato
902-8638
State-of-the-art drip and sprinkler systems. Consultation, design and installation, repair and maintenance.

NATURAL FOODS

Living Foods
222 Greenfield Ave. San Anselmo 258-0660
149 Throckmorton, Mill Valley 383-7121
Mon-Sat 9-8; Sun 10-7
We are an environmentally conscious Natural Foods Company featuring everything you need for a healthy lifestyle. We feature local organic products whenever possible and carry over 1000 cruelty-free cosmetic and body care products.

Good Earth Natural Foods
123 Bolinas Rd. Fairfax
across the street from Redwood Park
454-0123
Mon-Sat 10-8; Sun 10-6
Marin's leader in organic foods since 1969. Our produce alone makes your visit worthwhile.

BAKERIES

Muffin Mania
2 Bayview, San Rafael
End of B Street-Bayview begins
485-1027
Mon-Fri 6-5; Sat/Sun 6:30-3
Environmentally sound for over 7 years. We have over 30 kinds of wonderful muffins and the best coffee & espresso drinks.

BICYCLES

Sunshine Bicycle Center
737 Center Blvd. Fairfax
459-3334
M-Sat 10-6, till 7 Weds., 11-4 Sun
The ecological way to travel. Bicycles and Accessories featuring Trek, Specialized and Fisher. Expert repairs & services.

NURSERIES

O'Donnell's Fairfax Nursery
1700 Sir Francis Drake, Fairfax
Across from Lucky
453-0372
Every day 9-5:30
No Compromising on 100% Organic Products. Organic fertilizers, composts, vegetable starts, herbs, predatory insects, nematodes, guanos, garden tools. Large selection of California native plants. Complete landscaping services #606818.

Sunnyside
130 Sir Francis Drake, San Anselmo
453-2701
Open everyday 8:30 am-5pm
Marin's largest grower of quality plants.

GARDENING SUPPLIES

Dirt Cheap Organics
5645 Paradise Dr., Corte Madera
924-0369
8am-5pm M-Sat
Complete line of organic fertilizers, compost, worms, seeds. "All for the good of the Earth."
Call for free price list.

BOOKSTORES

Oliver's Books
645 San Anselmo Ave., San Anselmo
454-4421
Providing the necessary and the unusual. New, used and out of print books.

Marin Teachers Store
901 "C" St., San Rafael
Downtown San Rafael 7 blocks from 101 at 3rd & C
453-9197
Weekdays 10-6; Sat 10-5; Sun 12-5
Featuring multi-cultural books and noted authors and illustrators of children's books.

MUSIC

Amazing Grace Music
111 Red Hill Ave. San Anselmo
456-0414
10:30 -6:30 M-F, Sat. till 5:30
Acoustic guitar & accessories; mandolins and banjos; expert repairs.

Ali Akbar College of Music
215 West End Ave., San Rafael
Off Miracle Mile near Shell station
454-6264/office; 454-0581/store
Office M-F 10-5; classes M-W 4-10;
Store M-F 12:30-5:30
Evening classes in North Indian classical music; CDs, cassettes, and instruments: tamboura, harmonium, tabla, mridangan. Visitors welcome.

ENTERTAINMENT

19 Broadway Nightclub
19 Broadway, Fairfax
459-1091
11am - 2am
Live music nightly showcasing local bands.

RESTAURANTS

Two Bird Cafe
6921 Sir Francis Drake, Forest Knolls
in the San Geronimo Valley towards Pt. Reyes
488-9952
T-F 7-3; Wkends 8-3; Dinners Th-Sun 5:30-9:30
Stop by on your way to and from the beach for daily lunches & family dining. Enjoy our outdoor Patio. This Place Cooks!

CAFES

Cafe Espresso
85 Bolinas Road #4, Fairfax
In Fairfax Square behind the Women's Fitness Center
485-5535
M-F 7am-6pm, Wkends 8am-6pm
Espresso beverages, fresh pastries, fruit juices & smoothies, light breakfast & lunch.

BUSINESS SERVICES

Wendi Kallins
85 Bolinas Road #17A, Fairfax
485-5329
Quality, professional bookkeeping services including payroll, cash flow management, job costing, payables and receivables.

Postal Services Plus
524 San Anselmo Ave., San Anselmo
Across from town hall on the foot bridge
459-2567/FAX 456-9197
M-F 9-5:30; Sat 10-4
A complete mailing and business center: copies, desktop publishing, packaging & shipping.

COMPUTERS

Thomas Gump, Computer Repair
111 Broadmoor Ave., San Anselmo
453-0729
Professional MAC and PC repair, upgrades, sales, maintenance and training. Quality, reliable service with integrity and value.

MACs of Fairfax
1912 Sir Francis Drake, Fairfax
459-8858 FAX 459-0258
Sales Training & Support for Macintosh Computer. Business & residential telephone systems too.

PRINTERS

Marin Litho
475 Gate Five Rd. Suite 100, Sausalito
332-3397
M-F 9-5:30
Full service offset printing. Equipment: AB-Dick 360 with 2nd colorhead, Heidelberg KORD (25" 1 color) Heidelberg SORMZ (29" 2 color).

W.I.G.T.
324 Miller Ave, Mill Valley
381-3227
Fine quality small press printing, camera and bindery services. Recycled paper encouraged; soy inks available

PHOTOGRAPHERS

For the Planet Photography
381-4969
Custom created slide shows for environmental education, photo art, copy work for artists and environmental portraitures.

FINANCIAL SERVICES

Gary Anspach
Enrolled Agent
457-5780
15 years experience in tax preparation and planning for all entities. $50 one-time discount to Options subscribers.

Progressive Asset Management - Thomas Van *Dyck*
1814 Franklin St. Suite 710, Oakland 94612
510-834-3722 or 1-800-527-8627
The first brokerage firm specializing in socially responsible investing. We help individuals combine their financial & social objectives into a progressive investment plan.

Tamalpais Tax Service
Paul Grace, Tax preparation & Consulting
389-0139 by appointment
Helping the small business & self-employed reduce tax liability. Friendly, relaxed, professional.

BUILDERS

Jack Mosher Construction Inc.
504 Red Hill Ave., San Anselmo
457-0713
Environmentally sensitive construction. Residential remodeling featuring fine kitchens and baths.

Quality & Quantity Construction Services
19 Strawberry Circle, Mill Valley
388-3525
Contemporary remodeling, renovations, structural repairs using second growth lumber when possible. Lic #500259.

Hard's Cabinets
47-B De Luca Pl., Sa Rafael
457-0211
Twenty years enjoyment of this craft. This space is to express support of the goals of this magazine.

REAL ESTATE

Jane Canning, Realtor Associate
636 College Ave., Kentfield
461-2900
Donation to environmental organization of your choice with each closed real estate sale. Call for details about our equity share program.

Bolinas Real Estate
Sharon Building, Bolinas
868-1942
We need listings in Bolinas and West Marin. Also, don't forget to see Peter Harris to reregister Green Party after the primaries.

HOME FURNISHINGS

Ohmega Salvage
2407 San Pablo Ave., Berkeley
510-843-7368
M-Sat 9-5 Sun 12-5
Unique recycled items, including lighting, plumbing Victorian clawfoot tubs, fireplace mantles, etc.

FARMER'S MARKET

Marin County Farmer's Market
Marin Civic Center, San Rafael
Thursday & Sunday, 8 a.m. to 1 p.m.
415-456-FARM
Year round. Also in Novato, Vallejo, and Old Oakland.
Celebrate Summer with an aclectic variety of organic, seasonal, exotic fruits, vegetables, ranch eggs, local honey, farmstead cheeses, juices, nuts, fresh flowers, baked goods, and original arts & crafts, direct from over 125 farmers.

CLEANING

Crystal Clean
Daniel Solnit 454-5042
Complete professional cleaning services for home or office specializing in windows, move-outs, non toxic. Free estimates. 5% donated to environment.

Get a Business listing at only $75 a year.
Call Options at 485-5329

Resource Directory

ANIMAL

In Defense of Animals
816 West Francisco Blvd., San Rafael 94901
Contact: 453-9984

Marin Humane Society
171 Bel Marin Keys, Novato 94947
Contact: 883-3522

ARTS

Falkirk Cultural Center
1408 Mission Ave., San Rafael 94901
Contact: Carol Adney 485-3328

Global Artists in Action
656 Throckmorton, Mill Valley 94941
Contact: Mary Landsman 383-5117

Headlands Center For The Arts
944 Fort Barry, Sausalito 94965
Contact: Patricia Quill 331-2787

Headlands Institute
Golden Gate National Rec. Area, Sausalito 94965
Contact: 332-5771

EDUCATIONAL

Footloose Forays
P.O. Box 1179, Point Reyes Station 94956
Contact: Michael Ellis 663-9206

Marin Discoveries
11 First St., Corte Madera 94925
Contact: Jim Stills 927-0410

Marin Education Foundation
1010 B St. suite #300, San Rafael 94901
Contact: 459-4240

Media Tree
80 Lomita Dr. Suite 15, Mill Valley 94941
Contact: Carol Adney 383-6903

Pt Bonita YMCA Outdoor Center
Fort Barry, Bldg 981, GGNRA, Sausalito 94965
Contact: 331-9622

Science Discovery Workshop
P.O. Box 638, Woodacre 94973
Contact: Geordie Raddue 331-2955

Slide Ranch
2025 Shoreline Highway, Muir Beach 94965
Contact: 381-6155

Tamalpa Institute
P.O. Box 794, Kentfield, 94914
Contact: Anna Halperin 461-9479

Terwilliger Nature Center
50 El Camino Dr., Corte Madera 94925
Contact: Cynda Vyas 927-1670

University of California Cooperative Extension
1682 Novato Blvd #150B, Novato 94947
Contact: 899-8620

ENVIRONMENT

Audubon Canyon Ranch
4900 Shoreline Hwy, Stinson Beach 94970
Contact: Skip Schwartz 868-9244

Bay Institute
10 Liberty Ship Way #120, Sausalito 94 94965
Contact: Bill Davoren 331-2303

Bolinas Community Land Trust
P.O. Box 62, Bolinas 94924
Contact: 868-2112

Bolinas Lagoon Foundation
P.O. Box 444, Stinson Beach 94970
Contact: 526-8661

California Center for Wildlife
P.O. Box 957, San Rafael 94915
Contact: Jo Tomlinson 454-6961

California Native Plant Society
1 Harrison Ave., Sausalito 94965
Contact: Fraser Muirhead

Coastwalk
57 Bridle Path Lane, Novato 94945
Contact: Walt Creber 898-1975

Environmental Restoration Directory
1713C Martin Luther King Jr Wy, Berkeley 94709
Contact: 843-2645

Forests Forever
Contact: Ken Smith 459-3765

Friends of the Esteros
Box 184, Tomales 94971

Gatekeepers to the Future
Ft Cronkhite Bldg 1055, Sausalito 94965
Contact: 331-5513

Golden Gate National Parks Association
Bldg 204, Fort Mason, San Francisco 94123
Contact: 556-2172

Golden Gate Raptor Observatory
Bldg 204, Fort Mason, San Francisco 94123
Contact: Allen Fish 331-0730

Green Century Project
Bldg 1055 Fort Cronkhite, Sausalito 94965
Contact: Huey Johnson

Green Party of Marin
P.O.Box 582, San Anselmo 94960
Contact: Daniel Solnit 45-EARTH

Gulf of the Farallones National Marine Sanctuary
Fort Mason, San Francisco 94123
Contact: Miles Croom 556-3509

Health & Habitat
76 Lee St., Mill Valley 94941
Contact: 383-5343

King Mountain Open Space Association
P.O. Box 1014, Larkspur 94939
Contact: 459-2203

Marin Agricultural Land Trust
P.O. Box 809, Point Reyes Station 94956
Contact: Robert Berner 663-1158

Marin Audubon Society
P.O. Box 599, Mill Valley, 94942
Contact: Barbara Salzman 383-1770

Marin Conservation Corps
P.O. Box 89, San Rafael 94915
Contact: 454-4554

Marin Conservation League
35 Mitchell Blvd Suite 11, San Rafael 94903
Contact: Kay Slagle, Karin Urqhart 472-6170

Marin County Farm Bureau
P.O. Box 340, Point Reyes Station 94956
Contact: 663-1231

Marin County Parks & Open Space District
Rm 335, Civic Centre, San Rafael 94903
Contact: 499-6387

Marin County Resource Conservation District
P.O.Box 219, Pt Reyes Station 94956
Contact: 663-1231

Marin Rainforest Action Group
62 Ridge Ave, San Rafael 94901
Contact: Sherri Patterson 459-1986

Marin Recycling & Resource Recovery Center
535 Jacoby St, San Rafael 94901
Contact: 453-1404

Mow Our Weeds (MOW!)
P.O. Box 334, Point Reyes Station 94956
Contact: Donna Sheehan 663-1287

Off Oil Network (Sierra Club)
2448 Watson Ct., Palo Alto 94303
Contact: Jeanne or Bill 326-5684

Pacific Energy & Resource Center
Bldg 1055, Ft Cronkhite, Sausalito 94965
Contact: Armin Rosencranz 332-8200

Point Reyes Bird Observatory
4990 Shoreline Hwy, Stinson Beach 94970
Contact: Bill Richardson 868-1221

Point Reyes National Seashore
National Park Service, Point Reyes 94956
Contact: 663-1092

Regeneration West
P.O. Box 493, San Anselmo 94960
Contact: 457-7620 to leave messages

Resource Renewal Institute
Bldg 1055, Ft. Cronkhite, Sausalito 94965
Contact: Huey Johnson 332-8082

Richardson Bay Wildlife Sanctuary
376 Greenwood Beach Rd., Tiburon 94920
Contact: Beth Heining 388-2524

Ring Mountain Preserve
3152 Paradise Dr. #101, Tiburon 94920
Contact: 435-6465

Romberg Tiburon Centres (SF State University)
P.O. Box 855, 3150 Paradise Dr, Tiburon 94920
Contact: 435-1717

San Geronimo Planning Group
P.O.Box 57, Forest Knolls 94933
Contact: Brian Dodd 488-0718

Dolphin Network
524 San Anselmo Ave #218, San Anselmo 94960
Contact: Ed Ellesworth 454-7964

Environmental Action Committee of West Marin
P.O. Box 609, Point Reyes Station 94956
Contact: William Barrett 663-9312

Environmental Forum of Marin
P.O. Box 74, Larkspur, 94977
Contact: Dorothy Walters 924-0320

Environmental Health Network
P.O. Box 1155, Larkspur 94977
Contact: Susan Molloy 331-9804

Save Horse Hill
P.O. Box 621, Mill Valley 94942
Contact: Janis Bosenko 388-0961

Sierra Club
222 Crest Rd, Novato 94945
Contact: Barbara Salzman 924-6057

Tamalpais Conservation Club
870 Market St #652, San Francisco 94102
Contact: 391-8021

The Marine Mammal Center
Marin Headlands, Sausalito 94965
Contact: 289-SEAL

The New Renaissance Center
Bldg 1055, Fort Cronkhite, Sausalito 94965
Contact: 332-8082

Tomales Bay Association
General Delivery, Inverness 94937

West Marin Alliance
P.O. Box 670, Point Reyes Station 94956

West Marin Paths
P.O. Box 844, Point Reyes Station 94956
Contact: Ken Fox 663-1467

Marin Watch
P.O.Box 2224, Novato 94948
Contact: Suzanne Roy 454-4107

FUNDING

Marin Community Foundation
1100 Larkspur Lndg Crlc #180, Larkspur 94939
Contact: Sallyanne Wilson 461-3333

HUMAN RIGHTS

Amnesty International
P.O. Box 200, Albion Ct, Novato 94947
Contact: Jeffrey Zankel 898-7752

Marin Human Rights Commission
Rm 423, Civic Center, San Rafael 94903
Contact: 499-6192

PEACE

20/20 Vision
P.O.Box 566, Corte Madera 94925
Contact: Martha Olsen

Beyond War
71 Mt. Lassen Dr. #d259, San Rafael 94903
Contact: Louise Arndt 479-5100

Central American Network
1024 Sir Francis Drake, San Anselmo 94960
Contact: Laura Hall

Creating our Future
398 N.Ferndale, Mill Valley 94941
Contact: 381-6744

Educators For Social Responsibility
18 Seminole Ave., Corte Madera 94925

Friends Committee on Legislation
926 J Street #707, Sacramento 95814
Contact: (916)4433734

Marin Center for Peace and Justice
1000 Sir Francis Drake, San Anselmo Jo 94960
Contact: John Cook 459-5676

Marin Interfaith Task Force
25 Buena Vista, Mill Valley 94941
Contact: Suzanne Bristol 454-0818

Marin Sane Freeze
72 Kensington Rd., San Anselmo 94960
Contact: Linda Eliad & Dian Allen 459-1530

Marin/Condega Sister City
1024 Sir Francis Drake, San Anselmo 94960

Mill Valley Sister City Program
57 Lee St, Mill Valley 94941
Contact: Elly Mitchell 383-5776

Peace Child Marin
P.O. Box 27, San Rafael 94915

PERSONAL

Green Gulch
Zen Center, Star Route #1, Sausalito 94965
Contact: Michael Sawyer 383-3134

Institute Of Noetic Science
475 Gate 5 Rd. #300, Sausalito 94965
Contact: Nola Lewis, Willis Harman 331-5650

Living/Dying Project
P.O. Box 357, Fairfax 94930
Contact: Karen Dega 387-5892

Marin Suicide Prevention Center
P.O. Box 2749, San Anselmo 94960
Contact: Jacqueline Spielberg 454-4566

Spirit Rock Meditation Center
5000 Sir Francis Drake, Woodacre 94973
Contact 488-0164

SOCIAL JUSTICE

Canal Community Alliance
91 Larkspur St., San Rafael 94901
Contact: 454-2640

Citizens Against the Buck Center
P.O. Box 747, Corte Madera 94925
Contact: 925-1311

Community Action Marin
408 4th St., San Rafael 94901
Contact: Gail Theller 457-2522

Community Housing Resource Board
430 Mission Ave, San Rafael 94901
Contact: Nancy Kenyon Or Paul Smith 457-2390

Cross Over Project
Opportunity House, 205 C St, San Rafael 94901
Contact: Pat Dale 456-3569

Ecumenical Association for Housing
2169B E. Francisco Blvd, San Rafael 94901
Contact: Bette Pagett 258-1800

Fair Housing Program
88 Belvedere Suite "A" 1, San Rafael 94901
Contact: Nancy Kenyon 457-5025

Family Service Agency Of Marin
1005 A St. Suite 307, San Rafael 94901
Contact: Robert Thomas 456-3853

Gray Panthers Of Marin
P.O. Box 2874, San Rafael 94912
Contact: Janet Pence 456-9038

Hospice Of Marin
77 Mark St #17, San Rafael 94903
Contact: 927-2273

Human Concern Center of Marin
16 Ritter St., San Rafael 94901
Contact: Susan Brown 457-8182

Innovative Housing
2169E East Francisco Blvd, San Rafael 94901
Contact: Ann Howell 457-4593

La Familia
1480 Lincoln Ave., San Rafael 94901
Contact: Sleikendro Montenegre 457-4260

Legal Aid Society
30 N. San Pedro #245, San Rafael 94903
Contact: Gary James Wood 492-0230

Marin Abused Women's Services
1717 5th Ave, San Rafael 94901
Contact: Pat Kuta 457-2464

Marin Adult Day Health Service
72 Kensington Rd., San Anselmo 94960
Contact: Kay Warren 459-6120

Marin Area Agency On Aging
Rm 257, Civic Center, San Rafael 94903
Contact: Ellen Caulfield 499-7396

Marin Child Abuse Council
828 Mission Ave, San Rafael 94901
Contact: 459-4499

Marin City Multi-Service Center
740 Drake Ave., Marin City 94965
Contact: Tommy Drake 332-7227

Marin Community Clinic
2398 Sir Francis Drake, Fairfax 94930
Contact: 457-7700

Marin Community Food Bank
75 Digital Dr., Novato 94949
Contact: Anne Rogers 883-1302

Marin Concerned Citizens Committee
1024 Sir Francis Drake, San Anselmo 94960
Contact: Lynn Sinns 456-7805

Marin Employment and Training Consortium
2165 Francisco Blvd #A-2, San Rafael 94901
Contact: 258-4720

Marin Housing
830 B St., San Rafael 94901
Contact: 459-5843

Marin Museum Of The American Indian
2200 Novato Blvd., Novato 94947
Contact: Katherine Volz 897-4064

Mediation Services
Rm 412. Civic Center, San Rafael 94903
Contact: Jody Anne Becker 499-6191

Mental Health Association of Marin
1024 Sir Francis Drake, San Anselmo 94960
Contact: Dorothy Hughes 456-7693

Ministry Of Light
1000 Sir Francis Drake, San Anselmo 94960
Contact: Jane Spahr 457-1115

Novato Ecumenical Housing
P.O. Box 428, Novato 94948
Contact: 892-8136

Novato Human Needs
P.O. Drawer R, Novato 94948
Contact: Florrie Torconi 897-4147

Older Adult Services
18 Professional Center Pkwy, San Rafael 94903
Contact: Grace Tomlinson Or Ann Sorgen 499-6808

Prison Law Office
2171 Francisco, San Rafael 94901

Contact: 457-9144

Rainbow Coalition
400 Canal, San Rafael 94901
Contact: Dorothy Vesecky 456-3958

Seva Foundation
8 N.San Pedro Rd, San Rafael 94901
Contact: Mary Kay Sweeney 492-1829

YMCA
1500 Los Gamos, San Rafael 94903
Contact: 492-9622

YWCA
1000 Sir Francis Drake, San Anselmo 94960
Contact: Jaimie Wiatrak 456-0782

Gallery

Behind the Bars at San Quentin

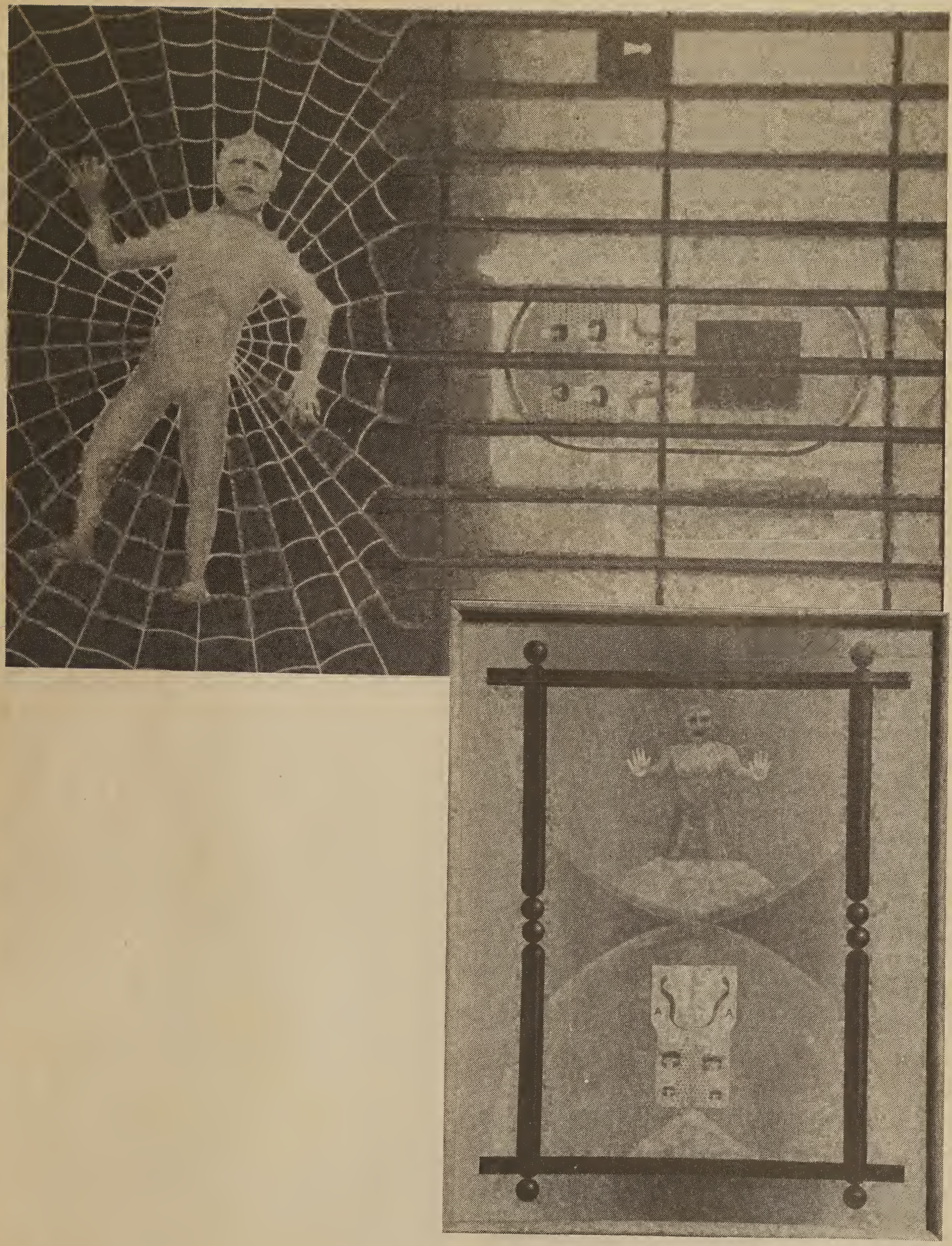
On Tuesday, April 21 in the wee hours of the morning a man was choked to death in front of many witnesses. In the barrooms across California people were cheering and boys in pickup trucks gave the thumbs-up sign. We fried the vermin, they yelled, justice was served.

Robert Alton Harris was a monster, we were told. Even those who pleaded against his execution, would precede their remarks with that statement..."Harris is a despicable character, a monster, horrible..."

Harris may have done monstrous things but he was still a man. We allow ourselves to dehumanize these criminals in order to justify their treatment. In El Salvador, the death squads are systematically trained to dehumanize the enemy to allow them to perform their acts of torture without emotion. This tactic seems to have worked well with the American public.

We may not like the acts performed by these people, but they are still human beings. Here, then is some artwork created by men on death row and by other inmates of San Quentin. This collection also includes a piece on death row by Lynnelle, the late Inverness resident who taught art to the inmates. Look at these images closely. They express both the anguish and the genius of these men. Look closely, because these are the monsters inside us all.

Death Row inmate Fernando Caro says of this trilogy: *"I am stripped of everything, dignity, respect, rights, acknowledgement that I'm human...in all three a cry for help."*



Poetry

by Peter Livingston

The Medals

Before junkfoods with clear complected smiles -
before tattoos, mohawks and Young Republicans
there was a time when convincing external enemies brought
the challenge,
the test,
the opportunity to face fear and evil
and tempt distant unrealized mortality.

Authority be damned!
With courage of heart
and infinite life
your bicycle wheeled into
the path of danger,
enlistment,
history,
manhood.

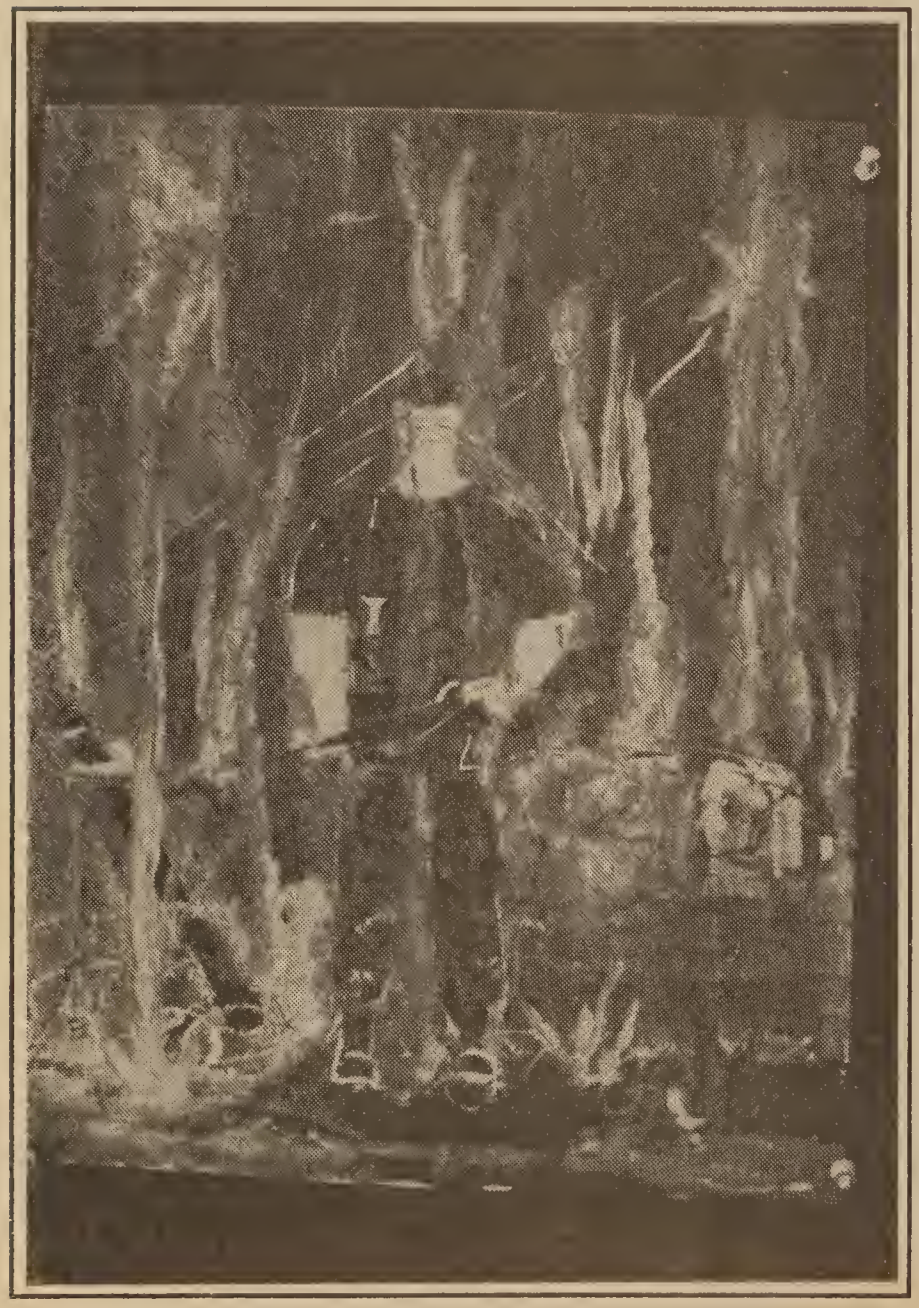
Noticing my footprints across the floor
I supposed I should rejoice that so many pass the test,
that so few languish in graves dug of desire for honor,
that I might rejoice of the many medaled celebration
of bravery that the Government pinned to your lapel,
during that time of tremendous life and conviction
frothing in, beyond and above
distant oceans of metal and blood
that tempted so many to breathe the sea.

Yet standing above your fallen body
is a memory that won't fade like tie dyed concert shirts,
decades beyond your years of youthful glorious celebration.
I see holes in your soiled overcoat
gone unnoticed through Medicare tri-focals -
and the beret sporting medals of ancient campaigns
few now recall, remembering glory days
in pre-mission music-filled Parisian bars,
settled in the dust of yellowed rent controlled linoleum.
How do we celebrate heroism?
How can I celebrate it now?

They are the treasures you left me but
I don't know where the medals are anymore.
I've lost them without the sadness
somewhere in my travels.

At unexpected times,
watching the news, looking at photos, buying minestrone soup,
my heart recalls your passing
as yesterday
you the unreachable alcohol fallen soldier
who lived these forty years beyond
the triumphs of your youth
to die
alone.

September 30, 1990



Tree Baker

Down the Tube

I started with Howdy Doody
then Captain Kangaroo
and then Mr. Rogers
soon into harder shows
The Mickey Mouse Club,
My Favorite Martian, Bonanza, I
Dream of
Jeannie, Maverick, Cronkite on CBS,
Twelve O'Clock High,
The Million Dollar Movie...
Twenty thousand televised hours
thirteen thousand murders later
my childhood got canceled
by the Big Executive upstairs;
and where were you?

I turned off The Beverly Hillbillies
couldn't find a job
joined the Marines
glory from here to eternity
matched me with a Claymore mine
and a General Standard wheelchair
that Thai Sticks couldn't dissolve
outside Saigon;
and where were you?

Shipped home
disability
Longs prescription meds
Dallas, Dynasty, 60 Minutes
I thought I really knew something now
and voted for the man with the most spots
got my job-suit sleeves patched
and my benefits cut;
and where were you?

I upped my meds
downed more booze
started watchin' Wall Street Week and Saturday Night Live
broke a few holes in the wall
with my Little League Spaulding
poured a Coors on the landlord
just before the New Year's sales
found my Goodyear rolling ass on the street
no more Zenith TV
got frozen to the side
of a Gannett metal news stand
rigor mortis pre-empted by
alleged Mike Tyson perversions;
now that the show is over tell me
where were you?

February 2, 1992

Radio Active Desert

Psyches seared by television
where are the others?

The government's land stretches to the horizon
worn down by wind and rain
baked dry by the sun
charred with the radiation of
a thousand casino-rocking blast-phlegmous tests.

For the un-rocked ambulatory dead
how does absence matter?

Barbed wire scars the perimeter
taxpayers must not cross onto
an arid fingernail of the hand
that would have the world by the throat
publicly confusing asphyxiation with nutrition.

Externalizing laws and encountering fear
what comes from confrontation?

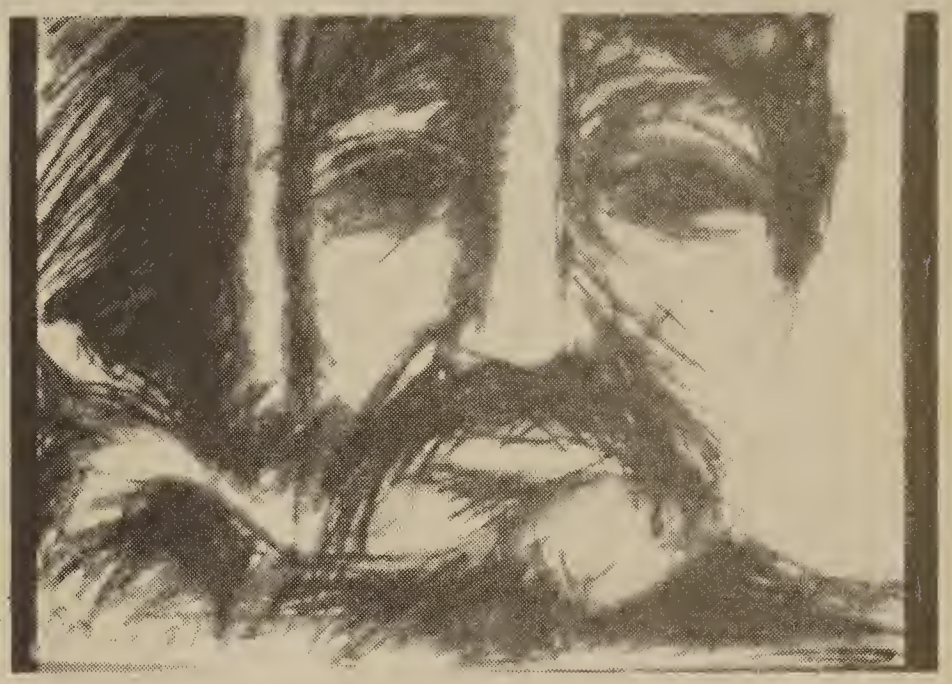
A tribe of travelers join
to tempt certainty at the Wakkenhut border
where the eye can see forever
but the politician nothing at all.

Standing adrenalin
has the time for questions passed?

Between posts
the Chief spreads thorned fence strands
young and old
red, white, yellow, black
poor and middle class
pour in to test sanity.

Sexed into partitioned cages
my invisible lover's shadow
lays on the sage and sand
singing next to me
only separation
not division
no evening news reports
real victories.

August 6, 1991



Lynnelle

E. Jire DeMunguia

Don't (Tell Me)

I'm
Iraq
200 thousand dead
200 thousand more dying
shattered and starving
90 percent dumb bombs

Don't (tell me)
I'm
Vietnam
2 million dead
cancers continuing
8 million tons of explosives
18 million gallons of poison

Don't (tell me)
I'm
Cuba
Since 1899
the invasions
assassination plots
covert biological warfare
embargo and extortion adding misery

I am the father on the reservation
of the fourth generation
alcoholic son with diabetes

I'm the brother of the little boy
who found a Contra freedom mine
and scoots dirt streets
on a metal castered board

I'm the mother
of the daughters
whose faces were burned off
in the house ten down from the phone company
in Iraq

I'm a person
for whom nothing
is not enough
and everything
is too little

In emergency rooms
In juvenile halls
In court houses
In ghetto schools
In convalescent homes

In these places
wet with essence
humanity and privilege
to make it disappear
into dawn
into ecstasy
into oblivion
into solution
into everything
and when
if
it touches you
maybe this has
you've got it
no more remote control
no more them
now
what can you do?

December 31, 1991

BULK RATE
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
FAIRFAX, CA
PERMIT NO. 36

© PENNY YRIGOYEN 1990 ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

SHE HAD FED HER FEARS SO LONG, HER DREAMS HAD DIED

FEED YOUR DREAMS
SUBSCRIBE TO OPTIONS
FOR ONLY $10 A YEAR

Yes! I want Options in my life. sign me up for a one year subscription. here is my check for $10

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

Phone_____

Keep up the good work.
Here is my additional donation to Options:

__$100 __$50 __$25 __$10 __Other

Options is a project of the Agape Foundation, a non-profit organization committed to non-violent social change. Tax deductible donations of over $25 may be made to Options/Agape

Clip and send to Options Magazine,

85 Bolinas Rd. #17A Fairfax, CA 94930

OPTIONS